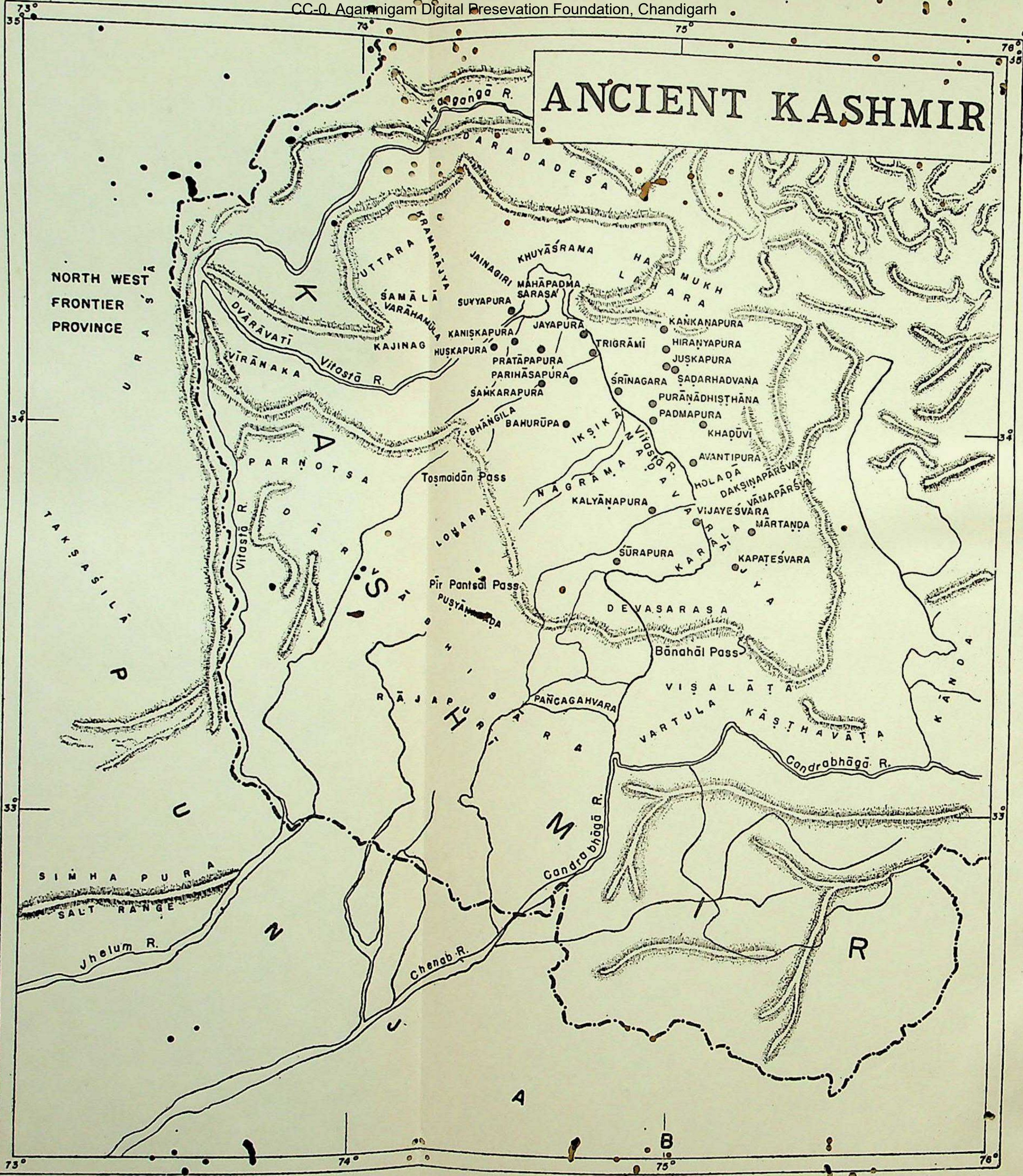
Early History and Culture of Kashmir

S. C. RAY

ANCIENT KASHMIR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Kiṣaṅgaṅgā R.
DARADADEŚA
UTTARA
KRAMARĀJYA
KHUYĀŚRAMA
HARAMUKH
LAHARA
JAINAGIRI
MAHĀPADMA
SARASA
NORTH WEST
FRONTIER
PROVINCE
URAŚĀ
ŚAMĀLĀ
VARĀHAMŪLA
SUYYAPURA
DVĀRĀVATĪ
KANIṢKAPURA
JAYAPURA
KANKANAPURA
HIRAṆYAPURA
JUṢKAPURA
TRIGRĀMĪ
KAJINAG
HUṢKAPURA
PRATĀPAPURA
PARIHĀSAPURA
VĪRĀNAKA
Vitastā R.
ŚRĪNAGARA
ṢADARHADVANA
PURĀṆĀDHIṢṬHĀNA
PADMAPURA
ŚAṄKARAPURA
BHĀṄGILA
BAHURŪPA
IKṢIKĀ
KHADŪVĪ
AVANTIPURA
HOLAḌĀ
DAKṢINAPĀRŚVA
VĀMAPĀRŚVA
MADAVA
Vitastā R.
NĀGRĀMA
KALYĀṆAPURA
VIJAYEŚVARA
MĀRTAṆḌA
PARṆOTSA
Tosmaidān Pass
LOHARA
KAŚMĪRA
DĀRVĀBHISĀRA
ŚŪRAPURA
KRAMARĀJYA
KAPATEŚVARA
Vitastā R.
TAKṢAŚILĀ
Pīr Pantsāl Pass
PUṢYĀṆANĀḌA
DEVASARASA
Bānahāl Pass
VIṢALĀṬA
PAÑCAGAHVARA
RĀJAPURĪ
VARTULA
KĀṢṬHAVĀṬA
KĀṆḌA
Candrabhāgā R.
PUNJAB
SIṂHAPURA
SALT RANGE
Candrabhāgā R.
Jhelum R.
Chenab R.
R

EARLY HISTORY
AND
CULTURE OF KASHMIR

by

DR. SUNIL CHANDRA RAY

WITH A FOREWORD BY
SARDAR K. M. PANIKKAR

MUNSHIRAM MANOHARLAL, NEW DELHI

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To

My Parents

All of us, I suppose, have varying pictures of our native land and no two persons will think exactly alike. When I think of India, I think of many things..........and, above all, of the Himalayas, snow-capped, or some mountain valley in Kashmir in the spring, covered with new flowers, and with a brook bubbling and gurgling through it. We make and preserve the pictures of our choice, and so I have chosen this mountain background rather than the more normal picture of a hot, sub-tropical country.

—JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, *The Discovery of India*

FOREWORD

Dr. S. C. Ray's *History of Kashmir* is an outstanding piece of research on a very important region of India. From at least the third century B.C. Kashmir played a very important part in Indian historical developments. Situated on the borders of Central Asia and always in close contact with the steppe civilisations of Turkestan, it became early in its history, the organised base from which Indian civilisation penetrated into the vast territories lying between China and the Caspian. Notably in the great work of spreading Buddhism, and Sanskrit literature on which Mahayana Buddhism was based, the part played by Kashmir was decisive. The conversion of intermediate kingdom of Kuchi seems to have been the work of Kashmirian scholars. We know from the life of Kumarajiva that it was customary for youngmen of Kuchi to be sent to Kashmir for higher learning. Through Kuchi and Khotan the influence of Kashmirian scholars spread to China and in the list of learned monks from India preserved in the records of China, those from Kashmir hold a high place.

Walled off by high mountains and endowed with unequalled natural beauty, Kashmir remained an inviolate sanctuary of Indian Culture, till at least the 14th century. Buddhism, Saivism and Sanskrit learning flourished in the valley and produced a remarkably rich culture till the Muslim conquest overturned the social structure of Kashmir. The integration of Kashmir life was so complete that one of his most remarkable books that Kshemendra, who was himself a Saivaite, produced was on the Avadanas of the Buddha, a classic in later Buddhist literature.

Though it was but seldom till the time of the Moghuls that the plains of India politically dominated the Kashmirian uplands and equally it was only on rare occasions that the monarchs of Kashmir tried to penetrate into the plains, the cultural, religious and literary life of the valley seems at least from Asoka's time to have been closely integrated with the life of the Punjab and the Gangetic Valley. So far as Buddhism is concerned, we have very full evidence of this. But equally important and indeed so far as India is concerned, much more far reaching has been the development of Advaita Saivism in Kashmir. The Trika Sasana associated with Vasugupta and Kallata seems to have risen in the 9th century and may have been the result of the great Samkaracharya's visit to that country which tradition affirms and which we have no reason to doubt. The monism of the Trika Sasana is a notable instance of Advaita Vedanta's influence on religion and is probably the earliest religious expression of Samkara's philosophical system. Kashmirian Tantrism on Kaula marga also takes on this monism and combines the ancient forms of Devi-worship with the philosophical tenets of Advaita. The influence of the Kaula form of worship is felt even now in every part of India, from far off Kerala in the south to the Himalayan Valleys in the north and may well be claimed to be one of the major contributions of Kashmir to the life of India.

So far as Sanskrit literature is concerned, apart from alamkara sastra in which Kashmirians seem to have excelled, the names of Somadeva, Kshemendra, Damodaragupta, Bilhana and Kalhana stand out as a brilliant galaxy of genius adding lustre to the history of Sanskrit literature. Somadeva's *Kathasaritsagara,* one of the undisputed masterpieces of the world may well be claimed to be the epic of the middle classes, a unique work which almost compensates us for the loss of Gunadhya's original. Of the later poets of Sanskrit the only one who could be compared with him is Hemachandra Suri. Kshemendra was perhaps the most comprehensive mind of his time, who wandered into every field including satire, with distinction. Of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* it is unnecessary to say anything as the present Volume bears ample witness to his merit as a historical document. Thus at least till the Muslim conquest of the valley, Kashmir could claim to have been in the vanguard of Indian culture, with notable contributions to every aspect of Indian life.

Dr. Ray, in his present volume, brings out clearly these unique characteristics of Kashmir history. Not only does he give connected narrative of Kashmir's political evolution based on all available sources, literary, archaeological, numismatic, foreign allusions etc. but brings out the cultural, religious and

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social development of the people of the valley. Though a few of his suggestions would appear to be based on insufficient evidence and there may be room for differences of opinion on others, it is in my opinion a model of what such regional histories ought to be and I congratulate Dr. Kay on producing a work of great value on an area which should be better known to the people of India as a whole.

K. M. PANIKKAR

PREFACE

WHILE ENGAGED IN preparing a catalogue of the coins lying with the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, as its James Prinsep Research Fellow during the years 1948-50, I took up writing a dissertation on the early history of Kashmir. The work which won for me a doctorate degree of the University of Calcutta, was published after necessary alterations in 1957 under the title *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*. The present volume is its second edition in which new materials brought out by subsequent research have been incorporated.

The period covered in this work extends from the earliest times to A.D. 1338, when the valley passed into the hands of a Muslim adventurer, known as Shahmera. Opening with an account of the features of the land's geography and population, this volume goes on to trace the political, social, cultural and economic developments that took place in course of Kashmir's chequered history. All available sources, archaeological and literary have been marshalled after careful sifting. I tried to make this study of ancient Kashmir thorough and systematic. My line of enquiry, it is gratifying to note, has been followed by many a scholar who stepped into the field later on and chose to rely heavily on the evidence unearthed by me.

My thanks are due to Shri B. N. Sikdar of West Bengal Education Service, who went through the manuscript, to Shri S. K. Neogy who prepared the map and to Shri K. C. Das who did the plates so essential for this volume. I am also beholden to the Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India who was kind enough to permit not only publication but also the use of photographs and plans that are the property of his Department. The same kindness I received also from the Government of Jammu and Kashmir for the reproduction of photographs.

My sincere thanks are no less due to Shri Devendra Jain of Munshiram Manoharlal, Booksellers and Publishers, for the zeal he has shown in the preparation of the second edition and in suffering cheerfully all the trouble that go with the printing of a book of a technical kind. His reminders were not only endless but also timely and but for the pressure that Shri Jain exerted, I do not know if it would have been ever possible for me to put aside from time to time official business and take up once more the threads from where I left them long ago.

Late Sardar K. M. Panikkar wrote for the first edition a very illuminating Foreword which has been retained in this edition.

Calcutta
1969

S. C. RAY

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ancient Monuments	Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*
Ann. Rep., A.S.I.	*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*
BEFEO	*Bulletin de l'École Française d' Extrême-orient, Hanoi*
B.S.S.	Bombay Sanskrit Series
Cat. Catalog.	Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*
C.I.I.	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*
C.M.I.	Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*
Ep. Ind.	*Epigraphia Indica*
Essay	Wilson, An Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir, Transactions of the Asiatic Society, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, Calcutta, 1825
G.O.S.	Gaekwad Oriental Series
Handbook	Kak, *Handbook of the Archaeological and Numismatic Sections of Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar*
I.C.	*Indian Culture*
I.H.Q.	*Indian Historical Quarterly*
I.M.C.	V. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I.
Ind. Ant.	*Indian Antiquary*
J.A.	*Journal Asiatique*
J.A.S.B.	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
J.B.B.R.A.S.	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*
J.N.S.I.	*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*
J.R.A.S.	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*
Jonarāja or Jonar.	Jonarāja, *Dvitīya-Rājataraṅgiṇī* (Cal. Ed.)

Jonar. (Bo. Ed.)	Jonarāja, *Dvitīya-Rājataraṅgiṇī* (Ed. Peterson, Bombay)
Kav.	*Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*
Mbh.	*Mahābhārata*
N.S.P.	Nirnaya Sagar Press
R.A.S.B.	Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
Report	Bühler's Report of a tour in search of Sanskrit manuscripts made in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (Extra no.), 1877
R.T.	*Rājataraṅgiṇī,* Ed. M. A. Stein
Śrīvara	Śrīvara, *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* Cal. Ed.
Subh.	*Subhāṣitāvalī,* Ed. Peterson
T.S.S.	Trivandrum Sanskrit Series
Vikram.	*Vikramāṅkadevacarita*
Z.D.M.G.	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

CHAPTER I

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

Physical features

KASHMIR–JAMMU, is the name given to the northernmost state of the Indian Union which, generally speaking, stretches from the east of the river Indus to the west of the river Ravi.

On the Atlas one may find it roughly between 32°17′ to 36°58′ N and 73°26′ to 80°30′ E. The aggregate area of the state on this side of the cease fire line stands at 53665 sq. miles and has a population of 3,560,976 souls (according to the census of 1961).

The kingdom of ancient Kashmir, however, was a territory much smaller than the modern state of Kashmir-Jammu. It denoted an irregularly oval valley, 84 miles long from north-east to south-west and 20 to 25 miles broad, between 33° to 34° 35′ N. and 74°8′ to 75°25′ E. It was surrounded by snow-capped mountains varying at different points from 12,000 to 18,000 feet in height.

Politically, ancient Kashmir was generally confined to its geographical limits. But at times it extended its influence beyond that boundary. According to Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.), Kaspeiria lay between the land of the Darads and the land of the Kulindas on the Hyphasis and extended eastwards (Ptolemy, VII, i, 42). When Hiuen Tsang visited the valley in the middle of the 7th century A.D., he found all adjacent territories on the west and south, down to the plains, under the sway of the king of Kashmir. He clearly records that Takṣaśilā to the east of the Indus, Uraśā or Hazāra, Siṁhapura or the Salt Range, with the smaller hill states of Rājapurī and Parṇotsa, were not independent, but subject to Kashmir.[1] In the middle of the 8th century A.D., Lalitāditya conquered territories as far as Kanauj in the east and his grandson Jayāpīḍa is said to have had trials of strength with the rulers of Kanauj, Gauḍa and Nepal. Śaṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) annexed Dārvābhisāra and some parts of the northern Punjab to the kingdom of Kashmir proper. Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089) conquered the hilly state of Rājapurī and among the neighbouring kingdoms which acknowledged his supremacy were Campā, Vallāpura, Lohara, Uraśā, Kānda and Kāṣṭhavāṭa.[2]

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[1] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), i, pp. 136, 143, 147 and 163.

The characteristic physical features of Kashmir are its strong mountain ramparts, its lovely lakes and rivers, and its pale red Karewas.

The valley of Kashmir is surrounded on all sides by a chain of mountain ranges. To the north lies a series of mountains which hasten away in wild confusion to the great promontory of Nanga Parbat (26,182 feet). To the east rises Harmukh (16,903) which guards the valley of Sindh. On the south is Mahādeo looking down upon Śrīnagara, the high range of Gwash Brari (17,800 feet) and the lofty peak of Amarnāth (17,321 feet). The Pīr-Pantsāl range with peaks of 15,000 feet or more stands on the south-west, over which the ancient trade routes with Punjab lay. Further north is the Toṣmaidān (14,000 feet) and in the north-west rises the majestic Kajinag (12,125 feet).

The surrounding mountain ranges have largely determined the political destiny of the valley, making it impregnable and inaccessible. While powerful neighbouring kingdoms succumbed to the onslaught of the invaders, Kashmir's natural defences saved her from impending foreign domination. In fact, it was not the valour of the Kashmirian army but the defence furnished by the mountain ramparts, which many a time turned the tide of invasion from the valley. Guarded from the outer world by chains of mountains, she was able to preserve her ancient culture for a considerable time and to develop her social and economic system in her own way.

The valley is dotted with numerous lakes that shine like gems under a sunlit sky; rivers run with merry ripple to bear the bulk of Kashmir's trade. The latter also serve as very useful

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[2] *R. T.*, VII, 588-90.

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commercial waterways from a remote time. In fact, in ancient times, there were few roads fit for wheeled traffic and communication with outer territories was restricted to difficult bridle-paths and tracks passable only to load-carrying coolies. The bulk of the country's internal as well as external trade was carried by riverways. The position of most of the towns on river banks, shows the historical importance of riverine trade and traffic[3].

The Uḍars or Karewas are names given to the alluvial plateaus of Kashmir, which, according to most geologists, were formed by lacustrine deposits. They range in height from 100 to 300 feet above the level of the ravines and valleys that intersect them and that are cut into twins by the swift-flowing mountain streams rushing to the river Vitastā. The area covered by each Uḍar varies from 5 to 50 square miles. The Uḍars with inferior quality of soil are less productive than the even fertile lands of the valley. In ancient times, when the population of the valley was probably much larger than at present, the whole land was intensively cultivated. The Karewas and even the mountain slopes were not spared. Consequently, a very detailed arrangement had to be made for their irrigation. Many of the irrigation channels which are visible now, are of ancient date. The chronicles also refer to some of the water-courses which were conducted over the Uḍars from the higher ground behind. A large number of Uḍars being isolated, water can not be brought over them. Their productivity depends solely upon rainfall. The chief crops, they yield, are barley, maize and wheat.

Kashmir in ancient literature

The name of Kashmir does not occur in the Vedic literature. In the Ṛgvedic hymns mention is made of a river called the Marudvṛdhā[4]. Some scholars identify it with the small Kashmirian stream Maruwardwan which flows from north to south and joins the Chenab on its northern bank at Kishtwār and on the basis of this identification conclude that 'the Aryans held a part at least of the secluded vale of Kashmir'[5]. But the identification of the river Marudvṛdhā with the Kashmirian stream Maruwardwan is doubtful[6]. In the *Atharvasaṁhitā* we find mention of some northern tribes like the Bahlīkas, Mahāvṛṣas, Gandhāris and Mujavats[7]. It is not known whether any of them lived in Kashmir. But as the fever (*takman*) is called upon to go to these tribes, it seems likely that they lived outside the Aryan zone. The *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads* refer to some of the tribes who lived in the north-west, such as the Gandhāras, Kekayas, Madras and Ambaṣṭhas[8]. None of them, however, seem to bear any evidence of direct touch with the valley of Kashmir.

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[3] For references of frequent river journeys in early times, see *R. T.*, V, 84, VII, 347, 714, 1628 etc.

[4] *Ṛgveda*, X, 75, 5.

In Sanskrit literature, the earliest reference to Kashmir is found in Pāṇini's grammar and in Patañjali's great commentary on it. There the term Kaśmīra and its derivation Kāśmīra are stated as the name of the country and its inhabitants, respectively. The *Mahābhārata* refers in several passages to the Kāśmīras and their king, but in a way which merely indicates that the valley was situated in hilly regions to the north of India[9].

Similarly some of the *Purāṇas* refer to the Kāśmīras in the list of northern nations, but do not furnish any further information about them.[10] Varāhamihira (*c.* A.D. 500) in his *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* includes the Kāśmīras in the north-eastern division. Of the other tribes who lived in this region, he mentions the Abhisāras, Daradas, Dārvas, Khaśas, Kīras, etc.[11], the tribes who are known from other sources to have inhabited Kashmir and its neighbouring regions in historical periods. Śrī Harṣa in his *Ratnāvalī* (7th century A.D.) refers to the saffron of the

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[5] H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, p. 51.

[6] Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 135-136.

[7] *Atharvaveda*, V, 22, 5. 7. 9.

[8] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, X, 6.1.2.; *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, V, II, 4; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 21; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, III, 3. 1. 7. 1.

[9] *Mahābhārata*, II, xxvii, 17.

[10] *Vāyupurāṇa*, XLV, 120, XLVII, 45; *Padmapurāṇa*, I, vi, 48. 62; *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, IV, xxiv, 18.

[11] *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XIV, 29 sqq.

Kāśmīra country, which was best of all types of saffrons, both in colour and in scent (*Kāśmīradeśaje kṣetre kuṁkumaṁ yadbhaveddhi tat | Sūkṣmakeśaramāraktaṁ padmagandhi taduttamaṁ ||*).

The earliest note on Kashmir by foreigners occurs in the writings of Hecataeus who refers to Kaspapyros, the city of the Gandarians. Herodotus mentions the city of Kaspatyros as the place at which embarked the expedition under Scylax of Koryanda, sent by Darius to explore the course of the Indus and distinctly places it in the Paktyan land. Dionysios of Samos, whose date is not known mentions the Kaspeiroi as one of the tribes of India who were famous for their fast feet. The name of the Kaspeiroi is also met with in the *Dionysiaka* of Nonnos as a tribe which rose in arms against Bacchos (Stein, *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* Eng. tr., Vol. II, pp. 352-53).

Ptolemy (*c.* 150 A.D.) in his geographical account of India, refers to a region called Kaspeira lying 'below the sources of the Bidaspes (Vitastā) and of the Sandabal (Candrabhāgā) and of the Adris (Irāvatī)' (VII, i, 42). His assignment of the territory between the *Daradrai* or Dards on the Indus and *Kylindrine* on the Biās and eastwards seems to be on the whole correct. But his further statement that the region held by the Kaspeiraeans extended eastwards from the land of the Pandoouoi on the Bidaspes as far as mount Ouïndion or the Vindhyas (VII, i, 47) is undoubtedly exaggerated.

It is not possible to ascertain the earliest Chinese reference to Kashmir, since the term, 'Ki-pin', was used by them in a vague and general fashion to a number of territories on the northern confines of India. It might have denoted at first the Kophen—Kabul of the Greeks and then perhaps the Śaka State of northern India.[12] In the Kuṣāṇa period the word meant the Kuṣāṇa empire, which included Kāpiśī and Kashmir and much else.[13] But the Chinese notices of Ki-pin too, even if they had occasionally denoted Kashmir, lack characteristic local details.[14]

The first Chinese traveller to enter the valley of Kashmir was probably Che-mong. He visited Kashmir shortly after A.D. 404.[15] In A.D. 420 another Chinese, Fa-yong, started for India, along with twenty-five Buddhist monks. Fa-yong is said to have passed more than a year in Kashmir where he studied the Buddhist texts and the Sanskrit language.[16]

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[12] W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India,* pp. 472-473.

[13] Levi, *J. A.* 1915, p. 102.

[14] These early notices of Ki-pin have been fully discussed in *J. A.*, 1895, vi, pp. 378 sqq. by Levi and Chavannes.

A Chinese record dated A.D. 541 while referring to an Indian envoy sent to China in the early period of the Tang dynasty, describes the northern part of India as a country 'enveloped on all sides like a precious jewel by the snowy mountains with a valley in the south which leads up to it and serves as the gate of the kingdom'.[17] Undoubtedly, this is a distinct reference to the valley of Kashmir.

Hiuen Tsang visited Kashmir in the year 631 and stayed there for two years. His account of the land is full and accurate. His description of the kingdom of *Kia-shi-mi-lo* shows that it included within its limit the great basin of the Vitastā and the side valleys drained by its tributaries above the Bārāmūla defile. He observes that the valley is surrounded on all sides by mountains which have saved it from the onslaughts of the neighbouring states. The land is said to have been fruitful and fertile and the climate cold with plenty of snowfall.

The great pilgrim also records the story of the conversion of the valley into Buddhism by Majjhantika. During the time of Kaniṣka the great Buddhist council was held here, but at the time of his visit, the country was not much given to that faith and the sole thought of the people was for the temples of the heretics.

Hiuen Tsang saw four Aśokan *stūpas* and records the erection of one by Kaniṣka, none of which are visible now. Some of the other contemporary *vihāras,* noticed by him, however, have been identified with the help of the Chronicle of Kalhaṇa. The Chinese visitor refers both to the new capital Śrīnagara and also the old one, Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna. He entered the valley by the route which lay south-east of Uraśā and reached the western gate of the valley in the gorge of Bārāmūla. The road by which he left, presumably lay over the Toṣmaidān pass[18].

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[15] P. C. Bagchi, *India and China,* p. 72.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] Pauthier, *Examen méthodique des faits qui concernent le Thian-Tchou Ou l' Inde* (Paris, 1839), p. 40.

The next Chinese notice is found in the annals of the Tang dynasty which mentions the arrival of an embassy in the Chinese court from Kashmirian king *Tchen-to-lo-pi-li* shortly after A.D. 713 and another from his brother *Mu-to-pi. Tchen-to-lo-pili* seems to be Candrāpīḍa, and his brother *Mu-to-pi* is undoubtedly Muktāpīḍa. The annals of the Tang dynasty further refer to the city of *Po-lo-ou-lo-po-lo,* i.e., Pravarapura and to the river *Mi-na-si-to,* i.e., the Vitastā.[19]

In the middle of the 8th century A.D. Kashmir was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Ou-kong. He seems to have entered the valley from Gandhāra in the year A.D. 759 by the same route through which Hiuen Tsang came. He spent four years in the country for studying Sanskrit. Some of the *vihāras* mentioned by him have been identified by Stein. Ou-kong saw more than three hundred *vihāras* in the valley besides numerous *stūpas* and images of Buddha.

Ou-kong describes the kingdom of Kashmir as enclosed on all sides by mountains. Among the routes which pierced them he mentions three, leading, respectively, to *Tou-fan* or Tibet in the east, *Po-liu* or Baltistan in the north and *Kien-to-lo* or Gandhāra in the west. Another route, which Ou-kong says 'is always closed, and opens only when an imperial army honours it with a visit' may be one of the routes leading over the Pīr Pantsāl range on the south.[20]

The informations that may be scrapped together from the Muslim writers on the historical geography of Kashmir, are indeed scanty. According to Al-Masudi it was a land with many towns and villages, enclosed on all sides by mountains, through which led a single passage closed by a gate. This is practically everything that writers like Al-Qazwini, Al-Idrisi and other Arab geographers tell us about Kashmir.[21]

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[18] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), i, p. 148 sqq.

[19] Reinaud, *Memoire sur l' Inde,* pp. 189 sqq.

[20] L' Itinéraire d' Ou-kong, *J. A.* (1895), vi, pp. 341 sqq.

[21] *'Meadows of Gold'* (tr. Sprenger), i, p. 382; Elliot, *History of India,* i, pp. 90 sq.

The only Arabic work, which furnishes us with a very detailed and accurate account of the valley of Kashmir is Alberuni's *Kitab-al-Hind*. Alberuni seems to have gathered most of his informations about Kashmir during his long stay at Ghazna and in the Punjab between A.D. 1017 and 1030. He was particularly interested about Kashmir because it was the seat of all Hindu sciences at the time and he distinctly states that among his informants there were many Kashmirian scholars.[22]

Alberuni correctly places Kashmir in that mountainous region which lies between the Central Asian water-shed and the plains of Punjab. Some of the habits and customs of the Kashmirian people referred to by him receive confirmation from Sanskrit sources. The people of his time were very conscious of the natural strength of their valley and closely guarded all the frontier routes. At that time the best known entrance to Kashmir from the west led through the central portion of Hazāra to Manshera and then across the Kunhār (Kusnārī) and Kiṣangaṅgā (Mahwī) rivers to Muzaffarābād and then by the right of the Jhelum valley to Bārāmūla. As one left the village of Uṣkur on the way, one reached the Adhiṣṭhāna, i.e., the capital Śrīnagara. It stood on both the banks of the Jhelum joined by bridges and ferry boats. The area of the capital was about four *farsakh*.

The courses of river Jailam, i.e., Jhelum have also been traced with much accuracy by the Arab scholar. From the foot of the mountains it was two days' journey along the river to reach the capital. About four *farsakh* further from Adhiṣṭhāna, the river reached a large swamp.

The mountainous regions of Bolor and Shamīlān, that lie nearly two days' march away from the Bārāmūla gorge, were inhabited by Turkish tribes called Bhattavaryān. Their king had the title of Bhatta Shāh. Bolor is undoubtedly Baltistān. As Alberuni refers to Gilgit, Aswira (Hasor, i.e. Astor,) and Shiltās (Cilās) as the chief places of this region in his subsequent notes, there can be no doubt that this mountainous region is the country of the Darads and the Baltis.

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[22] Alberuni, *India* (tr. Sachau), i, pp. 22, 173; ii, p. 181; also Preface by Sachau, p. XXIV.

Alberuni mentions the fortress of Lauhur which was situated at a distance of 56 miles from the capital. Stein identifies it with the fortress of Lohara, the Loharakoṭṭa of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī.*[23] The Muslim scholar closes his chapter on the geography with an account of the *Rājāwarī,* which is undoubtedly the town of Rājapurī, the capital of the hill state of Rājapurī, mentioned in the Chronicle. It was the farthest limit to which the Muslim traders of Alberuni's time could reach, and beyond which they never crossed.[24]

The last foreign writer of our period, who has left an account of Kashmir is Marco Polo (middle of the 13th century A.D.). He mentions Kashimur as a province inhabited by a people who were idolators and had a language of their own. They were acquainted with the devilries of enchantment and could perform many supernatural acts.

Marco Polo also speaks of some of the habits and customs of the Kashmirians, their food and drink and of their physical features. He states 'there are number of towns and villages in the country, but also forests and desert tracts and strong passes, so that the people have no fear of anybody, and keep their independence with a king of their own to rule and do justice'. The Venetian traveller's evidence about the natural defences of the valley receives corroboration from Alberuni and Ou-kong.

Marco Polo refers to a number of idolators' abbeys and monasteries which were found in the kingdom of Kashmir and mentions that the coral which was carried from this part of the world, had a better market here than that of any other country.[25]

The indigenous literature of Kashmir throws a flood of light on the early geography and topography of the land.

The earliest Sanskrit literature of the valley, so far known, is the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*. To quote the words of Bühler, it is 'a real mine of information regarding the sacred places of Kashmir and their legends'. Besides the references to the legendary origin of the country and the rites and worships prescribed by Nīla and observed by the people, the work dilates upon such various topics as the principal Nāgas or sacred springs of Kashmir, the origin of the Volur lake, the places consecrated to Śiva and Viṣṇu, the sacred river confluences and lakes, the chief *tīrthas* of the land and in the end upon the sanctity of the river Vitastā.[26]

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[23] *R. T.* (tr. Stein), Vol. II, pp. 293-300.

[24] *India* (tr. Sachau), i, pp. 206 sqq.

[25] *Travels of Marco Polo* (tr. Yule), I, p. 166.

Kṣemendra, the polyhistor, in his *Samayamātṛkā* furnishes us with some useful informations about the topographical details of his country. His heroine Kaṅkālī travels through the length and breadth of Kashmir. Many of the places visited by her can be traced out on the map. To him we owe the first reference to the Pīr Pantsāl route (Pañcāladhārā).[27]

Not long after Kṣemendra came Somadeva, the author of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. He describes Kashmir as a region in the south of the Himalayas washed by the waters of the Vitastā. He mentions some of the holy sites of the valley such as the Vijayakṣetra, Nandikṣetra, Varāhakṣetra, Maṇḍapakṣetra and Uttararāmamānasa and the town of Hiraṇyapura.[28]

Bilhaṇa, who lived during the reigns of Kalaśa and Harṣa, has also left an account of his native valley. In the last chapter of his poem, the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita,* he gives us a vivid picture of the Kashmirian capital and the village of Khonamuṣa where he was born. His account, apart from its poetical beauties, is full of local details.[29]

For the history, as well as for the early geography of the Valley, Kalhaṇa's Chronicle is a very important document. In the first book of his work, he gives us an account of the legends relating to the creation of Kashmir and its sacred river, the Vitastā, and refers, besides, to the most famous of the many *tīrthas* in which Kashmir was abundant.[30] But this description, though interesting, is not of much importance from the historical viewpoint. More important, for the historical geography of Kashmir, is the mass of incidental references of topographical interest scattered throughout the poem.

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[26] *Nīlamatapurāṇa* (ed. De Vreese).

[27] *Samayamātṛkā,* II, 90 sqq.

[28] Tawney, *Ocean of stories* (tr.), III, p. 220, V, pp. 17, 123-24.

[29] *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* (ed. Bühler), XVIII.

[30] *R. T., I,* 25-38.

Ancient Kashmir was really rich in holy places and objects of pilgrimages were planted throughout the valley. According to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* Kashmir was a country where there was not a space as large as a grain of sesamum without a *tīrtha.*[31] The springs which had their tutelary deities in the form of Nāgas, the streams and rivers with particular sacred legends attached to each of them, innumerable places connected with the worship of various gods and goddesses—all these and many more have been frequently mentioned by Kalhaṇa. They have some topographical importance as they enable us to trace with more or less certainty the early history of most of the popular places of pilgrims visited up to present day. The marvellous accuracy of Kalhaṇa's topographical knowledge about some of the *tīrthas* tends to show that he visited them personally.

Numerous references made by Kalhaṇa regarding the origin of towns, cities, villages, estates and shrines are also of great topographical importance. His knowledge about the birth of these towns and shrines seems to have been gathered from 'the inscriptions recording the consecration of temples and grants of land by former kings'.[32] Some of his notices were probably based on less authentic sources, but even then it must be admitted that they acquaint us with the 'names of the respective localities and buildings as used in the official language of Kalhaṇa's time, and with the traditions then current regarding their origin and date'.

The system of nomenclature followed in ancient Kashmir preserves a genuine tradition regarding their founder. In cases of towns and cities, the appellation *pura* is attached to the name of the founder. In cases of religious structures, terms indicating the deity or the object to which the building was dedicated, follow.

The notices of the foundations of town, etc., made by Kalhaṇa, are sometimes accompanied by accurate description of the sites chosen and of structures connected with them. Mention may be made in this connection about his descriptions of the towns of Pravarapura, Parihāsapura, and Jayapura-

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[31] *R. T., I,* 38.

[32] *R. T., I,* 15.

Dvāravatī. It is Kalhaṇa's accurate description, which alone has helped future scholars to identify some of the ruined sites of present times with famed cities of the past.[33] The seventh and eighth books of Kalhaṇa are full and elaborate with detailed topographical informations. Our knowledge about some of the localities, whose mere mention is found in the first six books, is corroborated from the detailed account of these sites, as furnished in the last two books. Often in connection with the accounts of sieges, rebellions, internal conflicts which raged during the reign of Lohara dynasty, Kalhaṇa incidentally tells us so much about the various localities connected with those events, that we can clearly trace them on the map. His topographical exactness is strikingly revealed from such accounts as the regulation of the waters of the Vitastā by Suyya (which help us to trace the original course of the river and the changed course which resulted after the regulation), the sieges of Śrīnagara under Sussala, the battle on the Gopādri hill in the same period, the blockade of Lohara and the siege of the Śiraḥśilā castle.

The poet Mankha was a contemporary of Kalhaṇa. In the third canto of his *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita,* he gives an account of Pravarapura, the capital of Kashmir.[34]

Among other texts of topographical interest mention may be made of *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* of Jayadratha.[35] Jayadratha seems to have lived at the end of the 12th or at the beginning of the 13th century A.D. In his thirty-two cantos, he deals with a number of legends connected with Śiva and his *avatāras.* Of these, eight legends are centred round well-known Kashmirian *tīrthas* and afford the author an opportunity of describing various sacred sites of Kashmir, connected directly or indirectly with them. Jayadratha's detailed account shows the gradual development of legends connected with different places of pilgrimages since the days of Kalhaṇa.

The numerous *Sthānamāhātmyas* of Kashmir, of which 51

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[33] *R. T.* (tr. Stein), Vol. II, pp. 300 ff.

[34] *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita,* III, 10-24, 68 sqq.

[35] Ed. Kāvyamālā, No. 61 (Bombay).

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have already been recorded, are also interesting sources for early historical geography. They generally set forth the different legends connected with different places of pilgrimages, the merit to be acquired by their visits and the rites to be performed in each of the sites. Though most of them seem to be written in a considerably late period, they contain many early materials and local traditions, and are thus valuable for a systematic study of the old topography of the valley.

Political division

From ancient times Kashmir has been divided into two principal parts—Kamrāz and Marāz. In Sanskrit texts of the valley they have been referred to as Kramarājya and Maḍavarājya. According to prevailing tradition, Kamrāz comprises the *parganās* on both sides of the river Vitastā below Śrīnagara while Marāz, comprises those above it. That the division was similar, in ancient times, is proved by an examination of all passages of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and later chronicles which refer to Kramarājya and Maḍavarājya. A similar result is also arrived at from Abul Fazal's *Ain-i-Akbari* where it is said that 'the whole kingdom was divided under its ancient rulers into two divisions. Marāj on the east, and Kamrāj on the west'.[36]

In early days, each of the divisions Kramarājya and Maḍavarājya was further sub-divided into several *viṣayas*. How many *viṣayas* there actually were, we do not know. According to Abul Fazal's list Kashmir was subdivided into forty-one *parganās* at first, which, after the amalgamation of some of them was reduced to thirty-eight. Some of these *parganās* must have existed from a remote period since they are found in their ancient forms, referred to as *viṣayas* in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and other chronicles. According to the *Lokaprakāśa* Kashmīr was subdivided into twenty-seven *viṣayas,* of which nineteen are specifically mentioned. But the modern look of many of these names prevents us from placing too much credence on its evidence.

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[36] *Ain-i-Akbari* (tr. Jarret), ii, p. 371.

Among the *viṣayas* of Maḍavarājya, Kalhaṇa mentions Khaḍūvī,[37] Holaḍā,[38] Karāla[39] and Devasarasa.[40]

Stein has identified Khaḍūvī with the modern *parganā* of Vihī. The village Khaḍūvī which was situated in this *viṣaya* and from which the name of the *viṣaya* was derived seems to be same as the present village of Khruv. In Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* the Ḍāmaras of Khaḍūvī are spoken of as lying in ambush near Padmapura.[41] It is interesting to note that Pampar, which stands on the ancient site of Padmapura, is one of the principal towns of Vihī.

The *viṣaya* of Holaḍā seems to be the same as the present *parganā of Vular*. A passage of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* places it in Maḍavarājya.[42] Another passage records that two officers of king Jayasiṁha were besieged by the Ḍāmaras of Holaḍā within the Avantisvāmin temple of Avantipura.[43] It must be noted that Avantipura is still situated in the Vular *parganā*. Kalhaṇa refers to the Ḍāmaras of Holaḍā and Khaḍūvī side by side.[44] Khaḍūvī, which has been identified with Vihī, is still a neighbouring *parganā* of Vular. Jonarāja mentions Holaḍā as Holarā[45] which is not very removed from the modern transcription Vular.

Devasarasa is undoubtedly the present *parganā* of Divasar situated in the south-east of the valley on the upper course of the Viśokā. Kalhaṇa frequently refers to this *viṣaya* in his Chronicle.[46] The comparative early date of the *viṣaya* is suggested by its mention in the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*.[47]

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[37] *R. T.*, VIII, 733, 1413, 1777.

[38] *R. T.*, I, 306, VII, 1228, VIII, 733, 1433, 2808, 3115.

[39] *R. T.*, I, 97.

[40] *R. T.*, VIII, 504, 662, 685, 1069, 1260, 1347, 1511, 2732, 2742, 3115, 3281, 3285.

[41] *R. T.*, VIII, 1413.

[42] *R. T.*, VII, 1228.

[43] *R. T.*, VIII, 1430.

[44] *R. T.*, VIII, 733.

[45] Jonarāja, 548.

[46] *R. T.*, VIII, 504, 662, 685, 1069, 1260, 1281, 1347, 1511, 2732, 2742, 3115, 3281, 3285.

[47] *Nīlamata* (ed. De Vreese), 1283, 1284,

The *viṣaya* of Karāla has been mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[48] but Kalhaṇa's reference does not help us to locate it. Jonarāja and Śrīvara's chronicles[49] place the town of Jainapurī founded by Sultan Jainu-abidin in the Karāla viṣaya (*parganā*). Jainapurī is the modern Zainpur which has given its name to that tract of Advin *parganā* which lies on the alluvial plateau to the south of the Rembyar river. That this tract is to be identified with the Karāla *viṣaya* is further confirmed by the glossator Bhaṭṭa Hāraka who places Karāla in Ardhavane, i.e., in Advin.[50]

Jonarāja furnishes us with the information of several more *viṣayas* situated in the Kramarājya in addition to those given by Kalhaṇa. These were *viṣayas* of Vāmapārśva, Mārtaṇḍa, Jainapura and Nāgrāma.

The *viṣaya* of Vāmapārśva, twice referred to by Jonarāja[51] meaning 'left side' is undoubtedly an earlier designation of the modern *parganā* of Khovurpor which also means the left side. The name Vāmapārśva or Khovurpor may be due to its position on the left, i.e., on the eastern portion of the Lidār valleys.

Mārtaṇḍadeśa of Jonarāja[52] seems to represent the modern *parganā* of Maṭan. The name of Maṭan occurs in the list of Kashmirian *parganā* given by Abul Fazal which indicates that the change of name took place during the intervening period. It is also not unlikely that the name Maṭan existed already in the time of Jonarāja, but he used the Sanskritic term Mārtaṇḍa in preference to that name. The name of the *viṣaya* was evidently derived from the Mārtaṇḍatīrtha and the temple of Mārtaṇḍa that stood within its limits.

The Jainapura *parganā*, referred to by Jonarāja[53] owed its name from the town of Jainapurī founded by Jainu-l-abidin. The creation of the new *parganā*, wresting a part of the ancient

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[48] *R. T.*, I, 97.

[49] Jonarāja, 861-62; Śrīvara, iii, 194.

[50] *R. T.* (tr. Stein). Vol. I, p. 17, foot notes.

[51] Jonarāja (Bombay ed.), 79, 1232.

[52] Jonar. 1316.

[53] Jonar. (Bombay ed.), 1144.

viṣaya of Karāla[54] was evidently an event of Jainu-l-abidin's reign.

Nāgrāma, mentioned by Jonarāja[55] and Śrīvara[56], seems to represent the modern *parganā* of Nagam. But from the nature of its mention in the later chronicles it is not clear enough whether Nāgrāma was a *viṣaya* at that time or indicated merely the name of a place. The village of Arigom, which has been identified with Hāḍigrāma mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[57] and from where a stone inscription of A.D. 1197 has been recovered, is the only known place of historical importance in this *parganā*.

Śrīvara mentions two additional *viṣayas* of Maḍavarājya, which seem to have been from the pre-Muhammadan period. Of these, Dakṣiṇapāra undoubtedly is the ancient name of the Dachunpor *parganā*. *Dakṣiṇapārśva,* referred to in the *Lokaprakāśa* and *Mārtaṇḍamāhātmya* is probably a different form of the same *viṣaya*. The Ikṣikā of Śrīvara[58] represents the modern *parganā* of Yech which extends to the immediate vicinity of Śrīnagara.

Of the *viṣayas* of Kramarājya mentioned by Kalhaṇa, Lahara *viṣaya* is the same as the modern district of Lar, which includes the whole of the territory drained by the Sind and its tributaries. The identity is suggested by Bhaṭṭa Hāraka's gloss on the Lahara *viṣaya* as well as from the topographical details contained in some of the passages of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[59] and later chronicles.[60]

The *viṣaya* of Śamālā referred to in numerous passages of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[61] and later chronicles[62] is the ancient name of the modern *parganā* of Hamal, the latter being a direct phonetic derivative of the former. Vanagrāma, which from

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[54] See *R. T.* (tr. Stein), Vol. II, p. 471.

[55] Jonar. (Bombay ed.), 661.

[56] Śrīvara, ii, 10, iii, 24, 430, iv, 349.

[57] *R. T.* I. 340.

[58] Śrīvara, iii, 25.

[59] *R. T.*, VII, 911, 1360, VIII, 437, 729, 793, 1128.

[60] Jonarāja, 167 sq; Śrīvara, v, 136.

[61] *R. T.*, VII, 159, 1022, VIII, 591, 1003, 1011, 1132, 1264, 1517, 1585, 2749, 2811, 3130.

[62] Jonar., 92, 107, 152; Śrīv., iv, 108.

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Kalhaṇa's account seems[63] to indicate a locality near about Śamālā, may be identical with the present village of Vangram, in the Hamal *parganā*. Laulaha of Kalhaṇa[64] seems to preserve the old name of the present Lolab *parganā* to the north-west of the Volur lake. But from Kalhaṇa's solitary reference, it is not definite whether the locality formed a *viṣaya* in the pre-Muhammadan period.

The *viṣaya* of Uttara[65] mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is in all probability, the same as the Uttar *parganā* of the present day, which occupies the northern-most part of Kamrāz (Kramarājya). Kalhaṇa speaks of a locality called Ghoṣa which was situated in Uttara. It is evidently the present village of Guṣ, in the centre of the Uttar *parganā,* near the confluence of the Kamil river and the stream from Lolan.

Khuyāśrama[66] is undoubtedly the ancient name of the modern Khuyahom *parganā* which comprises the northern shore of the Volur lake and the valleys opening out from it. Śrīvara's Chronicle also contains the name of Khoyāśrama.[67]

In close proximity to Khuyāśrama, stood the *viṣaya* of Evanaka[68] consisting probably of that tract of land which stretched on the north-east shore of the Volur. The exact location of the *viṣaya,* however, is not possible at present. In the *Tīrthasaṁgraha* Mahāpadmanāga, i.e., the Volur is said to have been situated in Evenaviṣaya.[69]

Bhāṅgila of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[70] corresponds to the present *parganā* of Banjil, to the south west of Paraspor. This ancient *viṣaya* has been also referred to in Jonarāja's and Śrīvara's chronicles.[71] Closely adjacent to it, was situated the ancient town of Paṭan.

Jonarāja supplies us with the names of two other *viṣayas* which have not found a place in Kalhaṇa's work. Of these Bahurūpa[72] is the old name of the modern Biru *parganā*. The name of the *viṣaya* was probably derived from the ancient *tīrtha* of Bahurūpa[73] which was situated within it. Jainagiri, the other *viṣaya*,[74] owes its name to Jainu-l-abidin. It comprised the fertile Karewa tract between the Vular and the left bank of the Pohur river. The earlier name of the tract can not be traced out.

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[63] *R. T.*, VIII, 1438.

[64] *R. T.*, VII, 1241.

[65] *R. T.*, VI, 281.

[66] *R. T.*, VIII 2698.

[67] Śriv., iii, 353.

[68] *R. T.*, VIII, 2697.

[69] *R. T.* (tr. Stein), Vol. II, p. 211, foot notes.

[70] *R. T.*, VII, 498, VIII, 3130.

[71] Jonar., 251, 616; Śrīvara, iii, 386, 464.

Towns and cities

The Greek geographer Hecataeus (500 B.C.) mentions a city called Kaspapyros. According to him it was a city of the Gandarians. Herodotus (484-431 B.C.) evidently refers to the same city by the name of Kaspatyros. Lassen, Humboldt and some other scholars take it for Kāśmīra.[75] It is, however, to be remembered that Kaspatyros or Kaspapyros was the name of a city whereas Kāśmīra stood for a kingdom. According to Ptolemy (*c.* A.D. 150) the capital of Kaspeiria, i.e., Kāśmīra was Kaspeira.[76] From the above account of the classical writers it seems that there was perhaps a city in ancient Kashmir, which was called Kaspapyros or Kaspatyros or Kaspeira, whichever might have been the more correct form. This ancient city, however, can not be located.

If Kalhaṇa is to be believed, in the 3rd century B.C. the Maurya emperor Aśoka built in Kashmir the town of Śrīnagarī[77] which up to the end of the 6th century A.D. was the capital of the valley. It is highly probable that it stood on the modern site of Pāndrethan, Kalhaṇa's Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna on the right bank of the Vitastā, about three miles above the modern Śrīnagara. In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* it is recorded that

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[72] Jonar. (Bombay ed.), 286, 846.

[73] *Nīlamata* (ed. De Vreese), 928, 1159, 1337.

[74] Jonar. (Bombay ed.), 1449-56.

[75] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 2, 3. Wilson's view that Kaspatyros or Kaspapyros was based upon Kāśyapapura, on which Lassen and others built their theory is evidently wrong. See *R. T.* (tr. Stein), Vol. II, pp. 252, 254.

[76] *Ibid.* p. 199.

[77] *R. T.*, I, 104,

Jalauka, son of Aśoka, founded the shrine of Jyeṣṭharudra at Śrīnagarī.[78] Whether the existing temple on the Takht-i-Sulaiman hill about two miles to the north-west of Pāndrethan represents the shrine of Jyeṣṭharudra, is a controversial matter. But Aurel Stein has correctly shown that Jalauka's Jyeṣṭharudra must be looked for either on the very hill or in its close proximity.[79] In this neighbourhood must also be placed Aśoka's Śrīnagarī.

When Hiuen Tsang visited Kashmīr in A.D. 631 it was no more the capital. He states that the capital of his time was the new city and the old city lay to the south-east of it at a distance of ten *li* and to the south of a high mountain. The account seems to agree with the relative positions of Pāndreṭhan and modern Śrīnagara.[80]

The three Turuṣka kings Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka who probably ruled in the early centuries of the Christian era, are said to have built, respectively, the cities of Huṣkapura, Juṣkapura and Kaniṣkapura.[81] Of these three cities, Huṣkapura has been located by Cunningham at the modern village of Uṣkur, two miles to the south-east of the present town of Bārāmūla. That Huṣkapura was very near to Varāhamūla is evident from a remark of Kalhaṇa where he says that king Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950-958) proceeded to die at Varāhakṣetra close to Huṣkapura.[82] When Hiuen Tsang entered Kashmir he stopped at *Hu-se-kia-lo,* i.e., at Uṣkur after passing the ancient gate of Varāhamūla.[83] In the 11th century A.D. Alberuni noticed Uṣkārā as lying opposite 'Bārāmūla'.[84] Remains of an ancient *vihāra* and a *stūpa* can be seen near the village. In all probability they belong to the period of Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya.[85] An ancient *stūpa,* on which the *stūpa* of the Karkoṭa period was built is visible. This earlier one may go as far back as the days of the later Kuṣāṇas.

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[78] *R. T.,* I, 124.

[79] *R. T.,* (tr. Stein), Vol. II, p. 289-290

[80] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), i, p. 158.

[81] *R. T.,* I, 168.

[82] *R. T.,* VI, 186.

[83] Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsang,* p. 68.

[84] *India* (tr. Sachau), Vol. I, p. 207.

[85] *R. T.,* (tr. Stein), Vol. I, p. 140.

Juṣkapura may be identified with the modern village of Zukur to the north of the present capital of Śrīnagara. In the materials used in the Muhammadan tombs and mosques of Zukur a considerable number of stone pillars and mouldings of the style of architecture peculiar to ancient Kashmir are discernible, which may show that the town was an important locality in ancient days.

Stein, on the basis of the evidence of the glossator Bhaṭṭa Hāraka, identifies Kaniṣkapura with the village of Kanespur, situated between the Vitastā and the high road leading from Bārāmūla to Śrīnagara.[86] Carved stones and ancient coins, occasionally extracted from the site, point out its remote antiquity.

Another town, of comparable date was Ṣaḍarhadvana which has been identified with Harwan. According to Kalhaṇa, Nāgārjuna a celebrated Buddhist scholar and contemporary of Kaniṣka lived there (*R.T.*, I, 173). The antiquity of the place is testified to by ruins found in the locality.

If Kalhaṇa is to be believed, not long after the Turuṣka kings, Abhimanyu (I) founded a town called Abhimanyupura which abounded in wealth and had a Śiva temple as its crest-ornament.[87] The location of the town is not known, but some scholars conjecture that it may be the present village of Bimyun, situated in marshy ground about four miles to the south-west of Śrīnagara. Another town Narapura, was built by king Nara. Kalhaṇa's description of this town is very full and elaborate. He says that it was situated on the sandy bank of the Vitastā. The markets of the towns were kept full of supplies by the highroads leading to it and the sails of a hundred ships plying up and down gave splendour to the river. With its gardens full of swelling flowers and fruits, it was, as it were, a synonym for 'heaven' and it surpassed even Kubera's town by the riches amassed there through the conquest of the world.[88] Another name of this town was Kiṁnarapura. Kiṁnarapura, says Kalhaṇa, was encircled by walls.[89] It is not unlikely that the ancient towns of Kashmir were generally defended by walls built around them. Local tradition places Narapura in the immediate vicinity of Vijabror. Kalhaṇa's mention of the shrine of Cakradhara in the neighbouring region of the town of Narapura[90] tallies with the position of Tsakadar, near Vijabror and this goes to confirm the local tradition about the situation of Narapura.

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[86] *R. T.*, (tr. Stein), Vol. I, p. 30, foot notes.

[87] *R. T.*, I, 176.

The credit for the foundation of the city of Vijayeśvara round the ancient shrine of Śiva Vijayeśa goes to a king named Vijaya.[91] The site has been identified with the present town of Vijabror.

About the end of the 6th century A.D., king Pravarasena II built a city called Pravarasenapura. The city has been located at Śrīnagara, the present capital of Kashmir. The identity is based upon Hiuen Tsang and Kalhaṇa's testimony. From Hiuen Tsang's account we learn that at his time the new capital i.e. Pravarapura was situated north-west of Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna, at a distance of ten *li*. This is exactly the relative position of modern Śrīnagara and Pāndreṭhan. Hiuen Tsang says that he resided in the Jayendravihāra during his stay in the capital of Kashmir.[92] The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* relates that this very *vihāra* was built by Pravarasena II's maternal uncle in the new capital.[93] Kalhaṇa describes the city of Pravarapura as situated at the confluence of two rivers with a hill in the centre of it.[94] This is an exact description of the present Śrīnagara.

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Kṣemendra, Bilhaṇa, and Mankha's statements regarding the position of Pravarapura also agree with the site occupied by modern Śrīnagara.[95] Kalhaṇa's long list of buildings and localities in the new capital can also be identified within the present Śrīnagara or in neighbouring regions.[96]

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[88] *R. T.*, I, 201-202.
[89] *R. T.*, I, 274.
[90] *R. T.*, I, 261, 270, VIII, 991.
[91] *R. T.*, II, 62.
[92] Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, p 69.
[93] *R. T.*, III, 355.
[94] *R. T.*, III, 358, sqq.
[95] *Samayamātṛkā*, I, 4; *Vikram.*, XVIII, 1, 70; *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, III, 21.

Kalhaṇa states that the city of Pravarapura, when it was founded by king Pravarasena II, contained as many as thirty-six lakhs of houses. There were regularly arranged markets within the city. The mansions were so high as to seem reaching up to the clouds. The temples were endowed with rich gifts. The conjunction of two streams near the city added to its charm.[97] In the 11th century A.D. Bilhaṇa found the city equally charming, which, according to him, was not only the principal city of Kashmir, but surpassed in beauty all other cities, even Kuvera's town Laṅkā and the town of the gods.[98] For its coolness in summer and for the beauty of its groves, says Bilhaṇa, even those who have reached the garden of the celestials could not forget it.[99]

From the end of the 6th century onwards, Pravarapura was the capital of Kashmir. How did it lose its own name and assume that of the old city of Śrīnagara, is difficult to say. As both the cities existed side by side for more than five centuries, perhaps it was the old name that remained in common use with the people, in preference to the new name, as the customary designation of the capital. Ultimately the old familiar name of Śrīnagara seems to have swamped the name of the new city of Pravarasenapura.

About the middle of the 7th century A.D. Pratāpāditya II, son of Durlabhavardhana, founded a town called Pratāpapura, which, according to the poetic assertion of Kalhaṇa, rivalled the city of Indra in splendour. Bhaṭṭa Hāraka's gloss identifies the town with the modern village of Tāpar situated on the high way from Varāhamūla to Śrīnagara. The identification receives support from a verse in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* where Pratāpapura is said to be lying on the route of Sussala's retreat from Śrīnagara

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[96] For the identity of the buildings and sites, see *R. T.,* (tr. Stein), Vol. I, pp. 100-102, foot notes.

[97] *R. T.,* III, 357 sqq.

[98] *Vikram.,* XVIII, 15, 16.

[99] *Vikram.,* XVIII, 18.

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to Lohara via Varāhamūla.[100] It was a city of some consequence at least up to the time of Ananta (*Samayamātṛkā,* Ch. II).

The great Kashmirian king Lalitāditya, about the middle of the 8th century A.D. founded the city of Parihāsapura, which, according to Kalhaṇa, mocked the residence of Indra in its splendour. In this newly built city, Lalitāditya erected five great buildings which have been named in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* as Parihāsakeśava, Muktākeśava, Mahāvarāha, Govardhanadhara and Rājavihāra. The first four were temples dedicated to the worship of Viṣṇu. The last one was a Buddhist convent.

Cunningham placed Parihāsapura on the right or eastern bank of the Behat near the village of Sambal.[101] But his identification is unsupported by any evidence. According to Stein, ancient Parihāsapura lay in the present *parganā* of Paraspor and comprised the little tract lying between the marches of the Manymor and Hartrath on the left bank of the Vitastā, immediately to the south-west of Shādipūr. The identity is based upon the phonetic similarity of Parihāsapura and Paraspor. Besides, ruins of several large temples and a *vihāra,* each of which seems to have consisted of a central edifice and an enclosing quadrangle (some of them measuring considerably in excess of those of Lalitāditya's temple of Mārtaṇḍa) have been found on the site. They are, in all probability, the Viṣṇu temples and the Buddhist *vihāra* of Parihāsapura said, in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* to have been erected by Lalitāditya.[102] According to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* the shrine of Vainyasvāmin was situated at Parihāsapura.[103] This shrine can be identified with certainty with the ruined temple of Malikpor about a mile from the ruins of temples in the north of Parihāsapura.

The causes for the utter ruin of the city of Parihāsapura are not far to seek. The royal seat at Parihāsapura was removed by Vajrāditya shortly after Lalitāditya's death which must have diminished its importance.[104] The irrigation operations of Avantivarman's minister Suyya removed the junction of the river Vitastā and Sindhu from Parihāsapura to Shādipūr as a result of which Parihāsapura lost most of its former importance. Shortly after this, Śaṁkaravarman used materials from Parihāsapura, for the construction of his new town and temples at Paṭan.[105] In the 11th century A.D. king Harṣa's troops stormed Parihāsapura, burnt the Rājavihāra and broke up the silver image of Parihāsakeśava.[106] The final destruction of the city was caused by Sikandar Butshikan (A.D. 1389-1413).[107]

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[100] *R. T.,* VIII, 820.

[101] Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India* (Calcutta, 1924), p. 116.

[102] For the position of the ruins and their identification with Lalitāditya's establishments, see *R. T.* (tr. Stein), Vol. II, pp. 301, 302.

[103] *R. T.,* V, 98, 99.

[104] *R. T.,* IV, 395.

Lalitāditya's grandson Jayāpīḍa built two towns called Jayapura and Dvāravatī. In the former, he set up three Buddha images, a large *vihāra,* a shrine of Jayādevī and a temple of *caturātman* Keśava.[108] Both the towns, it seems, were situated upon a lake.[109] Jayapura was popularly known in Kalhaṇa's time as *abhyantara koṭṭa* and Dvāravatī as *vāhya koṭṭa.*

Jayapura has been identified with the present village of Andarkoṭh 'which lies partly on an island rising from the Sambal lake, and partly on the low lying strip of land separating that lake from the Vitastā'. Many of the ruins, found on the site, are attributed by the local people to a king named Jayāpīḍ. One of the largest ruins on the north-west corner of the plateau has been actually recognised by Bühler,[110] as a temple of Viṣṇu and this may correspond to the temple of Keśava mentioned by Kalhaṇa. Some of the oldest glossators of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* also explain *abhyantara koṭṭa* of Kalhaṇa as Andarkoṭh. The town of Jayapura survived as late as the 15th century, for Śrīvara refers to it several times in his Chronicle.[111] The town of Dvāravatī, of which no further mention is found elsewhere, seems to have been placed over several detached hamlets, all belonging to Andarkoṭh, which stretch in a semicircle along the edge of the lake to the north of the island of Andarkoṭh. The ruins found here are comparatively few and they too are attributed by the local tradition to king Jayāpīḍ.

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[105] *R. T.,* V, 161.

[106] *R. T.,* VII, 1335.

[107] *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarret's tr.), ii, p. 364.

[108] *R. T.,* IV, 507-508.

[109] *Ibid.,* IV, 506, 510.

[110] *Report,* p. 13 sqq.

[111] Śrīv., i, 246, 250, 257, iv, 540, 545.

In the first quarter of the 9th century A.D. Padma, the maternal uncle of the king Cippaṭa Jayāpīḍa, built the town of Padmapura.[112] It is the modern town of Pāmpar on the Vitastā. Due to its position in the middle of a fertile tract of land, Padmapura seems to have been always a place of some importance. The town has been often mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and in the later chronicles.[113]

During the reign of Avantivarman, three new towns were founded in the valley. Of these, the town of Avantipura was built by the king himself.[114] It is marked by the present village of Vāntipor, on the Vitastā. Among the ruins of this place, can be recognized the remains of the two old temples of Śiva Avantīśvara and Viṣṇu Avantisvāmin.[115] The large number of ruins extending upto the hills east of the Vāntipor tend to show that in former times the town used to cover a large area. That Avantipura was a town of considerable importance long after the date of its foundation, is vouched for by its references in the *Samayamātṛkā,*[116] the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[117] and later chronicles.[118]

The next town, Śūrapura owed its foundation to Avantivarman's minister Śūra.[119] It has been identified with the present Hurapor situated in the valley of Rembyar stream, on the route which leads to the pass of the Pīr Pantsāl. From Kalhaṇa's testimony to the transfer of the *draṅga* of Kramavarta to this place and from his other statements,[120] it is evident that Śūrapura was an important centre of trade in early days and one of the main routes of communication with the south lay through it.

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[112] *R. T.*, IV, 695.

[113] *R. T.*, IV, 695, V, 330, VII, 767, 1362, 1365, VIII 1387, 1413, 1418, 1422, 2807; Jonarāja, 549; Śrīv., iv, 132, 344.

[114] *R. T.*, V, 44.

[115] For the correct identification of the temples and their description see *Ann. Rep. A. S., I.*, 1913-14, pp. 40-62.

[116] *Samayamātṛkā,* II, 76.

[117] *R. T.*, VII, 1366, VIII, 970, 1144, 1474, 1502.

[118] Jonar., 321, 330, 335, 863; Śrīv., i, 338, iii, 42.

[119] *R. T.*, V, 39.

[120] *R. T.*, V, 39, VII, 1520, VIII, 1051, 1134 1266, 1577.

The third town of this period, Sūryapura was built by Suyya, the irrigation minister of Avantivarman on the bank of the Vitastā where she leaves the waters of the Mahāpadma.[121] It is undoubtedly the present Sopur, situated exactly in the position, referred to by Kalhaṇa.

Avantivarman's son Śaṁkaravarman, founded the city of Śaṁkarapurapattana.[122] Its identity with the present village of Paṭan on the high road from Śrīnagara to Bārāmūla, is established by Kalhaṇa's testimony who says that subsequently Śaṁkarapura lost its proper appellation and became known only by the name of Pattana.[123] The temples of Śaṁkaragaurīśvara and Sugandheśa, said to have been built by Śaṁkaravarman in this place,[124] can be identified with two ruined temples of Paṭan.[125] In the pre-Muhammadan Kashmir, Pattana was famous for the display of woollen cloths, trade in cattle and the like.[126]

If Kalhaṇa is to be believed, queen Diddā founded two towns called Abhimanyupura and Kaṅkaṇapura; the former to increase her deceased son Abhimanyu's merit, and the latter to increase the eminence of the merit of her husband, Kaṅkaṇavarsa.[127] Abhimanyupura is not traceable. Kaṅkaṇapura is perhaps marked by the present village of Kangan, on the right bank of the river Sind.

The people

During the period under our review, the people of Kashmir ethnically, did not form a single homogeneous group. There had been various admixture of different races and communities. It is not possible to take an estimate of the specific races who came to the valley, since there is no systematic record of their infiltration. But if we look to the people of Kashmir we find in the very formation of their bodies, in their language and in their culture, traces of different ethnic features.

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[121] *R. T.*, V, 118.

[122] *R. T.*, V, 156.

[123] *R. T.*, V, 213.

[124] *R. T.*, V. 158.

[125] Cunningham, *J. A. S. B.*, 1848, part I, pp. 282 sqq.

[126] *R. T.*, V, 162.

[127] *R. T.*, VI, 299, 301.

The valley was subjected to several foreign invasions from the north and the north-west from a very early time. Of these, the Indo-Greek rule[128] even if it had been established over some parts of the country, was more or less of the nature of military incursion and it is doubtful, whether during the Indo-Greek rule any considerable amount of race-admixture between the Yavanas and the existing Kashmirian people took place. But the Śakas, Se or Scythians, who arrived in India about the middle of the second century B.C. due to Yue-chi pressure, seem to have had a more intimate relation with Kashmir. In the beginning they occupied the plains of Peshawar. Sometime afterwards a branch of the Śakas might have settled over some parts of the valley.[129] The Baltis are generally considered to be the descendants of the Śakas. It is not unlikely that from Baltistan some migrations took place in Kashmir even in later times.

In the early centuries of the Christian era, the Kuṣāṇa rulers held sway over Kashmir.[130] The line of Kaniṣka's rule over Kashmir is attested to by literary as well as numismatic evidence. During the reign of these Kuṣāṇas, a large number of Yue-chi (stock to which the Kuṣāṇas belonged) must have come and settled in Kashmir. Even after the fall of the main dynasty, other later dynasties, originating from the same Yue-chi stock held sway over various parts.

The next recorded infiltration was by the Hūṇas. They seem to have established themselves in this secluded valley in the sixth century A.D. Mihirakula's rule over Kashmir is testified to by Hiuen Tsang and Kalhaṇa.[131] Kashmirian names like Toramāṇa, Vasukula, Hiraṇyakula, Khiṅkhila, etc., indicate to a certain extent the influence of the Hūṇas in Kashmirian population. The racial admixture following incursion of Central Asian tribes possibly was of a consequential nature. A group of sculptures from the ancient site of Ṣaḍarhadvana (mod. Harwan) shows unmistakably Central Asian tribes with characteristic racial features, who might have settled in the valley in the fourth century A.D. or at a little later date.

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[128] *Infra, p.* 37.

[129] *Ibid.*

[130] *Ibid.*

[131] *Infra,* p. 39.

The last foreign tribe from the north-west who might have settled in Kashmir in pre-Muhammadan days, was perhaps the Gurjara. The Gurjaras are generally considered to belong to the Hūṇa stock. But as their affiliation with the latter is not known for certain, it is better to regard them as a separate tribe, if not as a separate race. In the present population of Kashmir, the Gujars, the Rajputs and the Jats, all hailing from the Gurjara stock predominate. About early Gurjara settlement in Kashmir, no evidence is forthcoming. Gurjara occupation of northern Punjab has, however, left indelible mark in names of localities like Gujerat or Gujranwala. Gurjara king Bhoja's occupation of certain territories in north-eastern Punjab is also hinted at in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[132] From the Pehoa inscription we further learn that the district of Karnal remained under the rules of Gurjara king Bhoja and Mahendrapāla I.[133] Gurjara emigration into Kashmir might have taken place from north Punjab, presumably during the Karkoṭa period, when parts of Punjab were included in the Kashmir empire.

From the side of Tibet also, some people seem to have settled in the valley. The Bhauṭṭas overran the valley of Kashmir, according to Kalhaṇa, in the periods preceding the Hūṇa invasion.[134] It is also stated that some religious teachers from Tibet settled in Kashmir.[135] In the 14th century there was an invasion from Tibet. Kalhaṇa also speaks of a caste called Kirāta who constituted an important community in the lower stratum of the society. The Kirātas evidently belonged to the Tibeto-Burman racial group.

Considerable migration of population into the territory of Kashmir had taken place from the Indian side too. From Kalhaṇa's evidence it seems that Kashmir formed a part of the far-flung empire of the Mauryas. Emperor Aśoka is said to have founded the city of Śrīnagara as well as various religious establishments.[136] With the extension of the Maurya rule in the valley it is only natural that Indian people from other parts of the Mauryan empire would enter and settle in the valley. About the races and peoples who went to Kashmir from the plains of India in the post-Aśokan period no definite evidence is available. But gradual and constant migration of Indian population must have taken place in Kashmir throughout the period of Hindu rule. This is discernible from the essentially Sanskritic culture of the valley. The poets, playwrights and scholars of Kashmir composed their works in Sanskrit and even in the Kashmirian language there are many words which are Sanskritic in origin. Some of the notable persons of pre-Muhammadan Kashmir actually trace their ancestry from India proper. Abhinavagupta's and Bilhaṇa's forefathers lived in Madhayadeśa whereas Abhinanda's ancestors hailed from Gauḍa.[137]

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[132] *R. T.*, V, 151.

[133] *Epigraphia Indica*, I, pp. 245-248.

[134] *R. T.*, I, 312.

[135] *R. T.*, III, 10.

But the migration of people referred to above, of which historical records are available, refer only to a small section of the ancient Kashmirians. The bulk of the population in the historical period were descendants of communities already well-settled in the valley, even from the pre-Mauryan days. About their origin and racial characteristics, no definite historical information is available. But an analysis of the Kashmirian language, throws interesting light about their ethnic composition.

The Kashmirian language contains a large number of Sanskrit words but the language itself is not of Sanskrit origin. If the vocabulary of Kashmir was enriched by the addition of Sanskrit words, it was only because the valley was subject to Indian influence for a long time.

The Kashmirian language belongs to the Dardic group, which though not Sanskritic is Aryan in its origin.[138] The Dardic language of which Kashmir was a sub-branch was called Paiśācī in ancient Sanskrit literature. Though Sanskrit grammarians class it as one of the Prākṛts, it was not really a Prākṛt, but a very ancient language, which was a sister and not a daughter of that form of speech which later on developed in India as literary Sanskrit. The spheres of the Paiśācī language were generally confined to the region between the Hindu Kush and the Indian frontier.[139]

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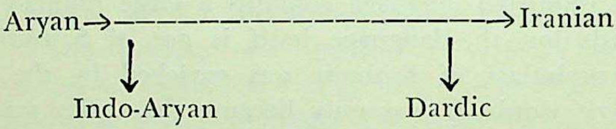
[136] *R. T.*, I, 101-107.

[137] K. C. Pande, *Abhinavagupta: an historical and philosophical study*: *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, XVIII, 73-79; Introduction to *Kādambarī-Kathāsāra*.

[138] In Sanskrit, the valley is called Kāśmīra which is derived from the word Kaśmirika. But in the Kashmirian language, this name is not used. The people of Kashmir call the country by the name of Kashir and the language Koshir. This word itself is an example of the Dardic origin of the Kashmirian language for in Indo-Aryan language the change of the to s or ś would not have occurred.

The Paiśācī or Dardic language, as Grierson has rightly pointed out[140] belonging undoubtedly to Aryan stock is nevertheless neither Iranian nor Indo-Aryan. The Dardic language and hence for that matter the Kashmirian language possesses certain peculiarities of its own, which in some respects agree with the Indo-Aryan and again in some other aspects with the Iranian languages. Neither does it contain all the characteristics of the Indo-Aryan language nor of the Iranian. It seems, therefore, that when the Dardic language issued from the Aryan language, the Indo-Aryan language had already developed along its own lines but it had not yet progressed so far as to contain all the characteristics of the Iranian.

This separation of the Dardic language from the main branch of the Aryan language and its relation with the Indo-Aryan and Iranian languages may be sketched with the help of the following diagram as suggested by Grierson.



At what time the ancestors of the Dardic speakers separated themselves from the main branch of the Aryans, we do not know. But the event seems to have taken place not long after the Indo-Aryans had entered India. Whereas the Indo-Aryans entered into the valley of the river Kabul and then spread into the plains of India and the ancestors of the Iranian speakers migrated westwards, in Merv, Persia and Baluchistan, another branch of the Aryans went to the east and occupied the Pamirs,

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[139] Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, VIII, ii, pp. 1-3.

[140] Grierson, *The Piśāca Languages of North-Western India.*

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the home of the Ghalchah languages. The Ghalchah languages possess all the Iranian characteristics present in the Dardic speech, while at the same time, these very Iranian Ghalchah languages have a few peculiarities in which they follow the Dardic languages in agreeing with the Indian as against Iranian. It thus follows that the ancestors of the Dardic tribes at first lived in the Pamirs but afterwards migrated to their present habitat, Citral and Gilgit, which lie just below the Pamirs, connected with latter by the Dora and one or two other passes. From Citral and Gilgit, the Dardistan proper, the speakers of the Dard languages seem to have infiltrated into the valley of Kashmir and developed the Kashmir tongue which forms to-day one of the principal members of the Darad group of languages.

But were the ancestors of the Darad speakers the earliest inhabitants of the valley of Kashmir or was Kashmir populated already, when they penetrated into it? The study of the language may again help us to find the answer.

Philology may be taken with some confidence as a guide in the cases of tribes whose languages are *moriont*. When small tribes are found clinging to a dying form of speech, surrounded by powerful languages which have superseded the neighbouring speeches, and which have started to supersede this form of speech also, it may be concluded that the dying language is the original language of the land and it gives a clue to the racial affinities of its speakers. This is exactly the case with the Dardic language and for that matter with the Kashmirian language. The Dardic languages are spoken in a territory which is bounded by the Iranian languages, particularly by the Pushtu and Ghalchah on the north-west, west and south-west, by various Indo-Aryan languages in the south and south-east, by several types of Tibetans on the east and by unclassed non-Aryan Burushaski of Hunzānagar on the north-east. Of these, Burushaski seems to remain as the most predominant element in the Dard language whereas the influences of other languages are quite negligible. Over the whole of the Dardistan there is an underlayer of Burushaski words and phrases. At the bottom of the Kashmirian language too there is a small and unimportant element of Burushaski. As Kashmir proper is situated far away from the present habitat of Burushaski, it is very likely that the speakers of Burushaski, the inhabitants of Hunzānagar, occupied the valley of Kashmir before the advent of the Dard speaking peoples.

The *Nīlamatapurāṇa,*[141] an early literary product of the valley records that originally the country was inhabited by the Nāgas. They were followed by the Piśācas with whom they did not have a friendly relation. Last of all, men entered the valley. The Piśācas were at first hostile to the human beings, but afterwards had to abandon the valley rendering it as permanent home for men. Whether this records reminiscences of one language group of ethnic community supplanting the other, the Nāgas being speakers of Burushaski, the Piśācas the Dard speaking people and the men, carriers of Sanskrit language and culture, is a debatable matter. Recent excavations near Burzahom have revealed remains of neolithic settlements.[142] These neolithic people are, from the archaeological evidences so far worked out, the earliest inhabitants of the valley. The exact period when they flourished, their racial characteristics and their relation with the ancient speakers of various languages whose presence is still discernible in the analysis of the present Kashmirian language, are matters not yet settled.

The ethnographical analysis of the Kashmirian people can never be complete unless and until we take an account of their physical traits both external and internal, or even to some extent their physiological characteristics. In fact only the statistics of a scientific physical examination of a large group of peoples of different strata of the society, carried on in the same uniform method, can give us some solid foundation relying upon which we can make out to a great extent the specific human races that entered Kashmir since the dawn of history and also ascertain the degree of their intermixture up to the present day. Unfortunately no systematic physical examination of the Kashmirian people has yet been made. The majo-

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[141] Ed. De Vreese (Leiden, 1936).

[142] D. H. Gordon, The Stone industries of the Holocene in India and Pakistan, *Ancient India* No. 6, pp. 80-84; *Indian Archaeology, A Review,* 1960-61, p. 11; 1961-62, pp. 17-21; 1962-63, pp. 9-10.

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rity of the Kashmirian people, however, possess a light transparent brown skin and are usually of medium to tall stature. They are much dolichocephalic, have a well developed forehead, a long narrow face, regular features and a prominent, straight and finely cut leptorrhine nose. The same type is found among the people of Afghanistan, Citral, Balti and northern Punjab. The probable area of characterisation of this race, therefore, seems to have been between the Hindukush and the Sulaiman mountain, from where it spread into northern and eastern India. Linguistic evidence, as we have already seen, confirms this conclusion. This type of race which inhabits Kashmir, Citral, Gilgit, Afghanistan, Baltistan and Punjab is the Indo-Afghan of Haddon,[143] the Nordic of Guha,[144] the Indid of Von Eickstedt.[145]

These Indo-Afghans or Nordics who infiltrated into Kashmir from Gilgit and Citral are identical with the ancestors of the Darad speaking tribes, the Piśācas of the Sanskrit literature. Majority of the present Kashmirian people appear to be their descendants. As the racial characteristics of these Indo-Afghans from Afghanistan down to the Punjab are almost identical, it may be concluded that this race had been able to preserve their racial purity to a considerable extent and their admixture with other races had been comparatively few, due probably to the inaccessible mountainous hill-locked character of their territories.

From the archaeological and historical evidence it is, however, evident, that though the Indo-Afghans were the predominating race in the ancient population of Kashmir there was definite admixture of other races from time to time. Of these, nothing can be said about the nature of the neolithic population whose skeletal remains from Burzahom have not yet been analysed. It is however to be noted that these people have been assigned to a period ranging between 2300 and 1500 B.C. on the basis of carbon 14 dating. This date, in all probability, precedes the period of the entry of the ancestors of the Dardic speakers in the valley of Kashmir and as such it will have to be admitted that the neolithic settlers of Burzahom are the earliest known human inhabitants of the Valley. Similaritly of some of the features of the burial system adopted by these neolithic people with those reported from Catal Huyuk, a neolithic site in Near East in Konya plain and Tepe Hissar and Tape Sialk, Iran has been noticed. But evidence, at present, is not enough to establish any cultural link between settlements of Burzahom and West Asia.[146]

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[143] Haddon, *The Races of Man*, p. 86.

[144] B. S. Guha, *Racial Elements in the Population*, pp. 23-26.

[145] L. A. Iyer, *Travancore Tribes and Castes*, p. XIV.

Of the later races the Śakas were mesocephalic with a low head, straight eyes, a well formed straight nose and projecting chin. Though essentially belonging to Proto-Nordic steppe folk, they were undoubtedly a mixed people, when they infiltrated in the valley. The Yue-chis were of Turki descent, who appear to have been very brachycephalic with elongated oval face, broad check bones, straight nose, dark Mongolian eyes, thick lips, yellowish white to coppery brown complexion, medium stature and dark hair, much on face. The Hūṇas were a mixed Turki and Tungus people, brachycephalic, with prominent cheek bones, broad flat face, dark eyes with Mongolian characteristics, black hair, very little in the body, complexion varying from yellowish to yellowish brown and medium stature. The western Tibetans who had an intimate relation with Kashmir in earlier days and who invaded Kashmir in the last days of the Hindu rule under Riñcana the Bhauṭṭa were apparently xanthoderm, mesorrhine and mesocephalic. The Indians migrating from the plains into the valley naturally had various racial characteristics peculiar to them, about which we have no definite knowledge. How far these different races have influenced the Kashmirian people, we cannot say at present. The question can be broadly answered after an exhaustive analysis of the physical and physiognomical features of the majority of its inhabitants taken from different strata of society.

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[146] *Indian Archaeology, A Review,* 1960-61, p. 11; 1961-62, pp. 17-21; *Current Science,* January 5, 1966, pp. 4-5; *Ancient India,* Nos. 18 and 19. p. 217; A. K. Sharma, Neolithic human burials from Burzahom, Kashmir, *Journal of Oriental Institute, M. S. University, Baroda,* XVI, No. 3, 1967, pp. 239-242. For a fuller account of neolithic remains at Burzahom, *see* chapter on archaeological remains.

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL BACKGROUND

RECENT EXCOVATIONS have indicated that parts of Kashmir were inhabited by neolithic people, some of whom were pit dwellers.[1] Such primitive people could hardly have any political organisation and we are obliged to turn to a later period to find out the beginnings of a systematic political history.

Perhaps such a beginning is furnished by the Persian invasion of India which took place in the sixth century B.C. From the accounts of the Greek historians, the Persian king Cyrus appears to have subjugated the Indian tribes of the Paropanisus and the Kabul valley, especially the Gandarians.[2] In the Behistun inscription of Darius (522-486 B.C.) Gandhāra is mentioned as one of the provinces under his suzerainty.[3] Generally speaking, Gandhāra denotes the region comprising the modern districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi. But sometimes it also included Kashmir and it has been noted in the previous chapter that Hecataeus of Miletus who was a contemporary of Cyrus and Darius refers to Kaspapyros, i.e., Kashmir as a Gandaric city. It is, therefore, not unlikely that parts of Kashmir came under the sway of the Achaemenids though any positive evidence to prove Achaemenian rule over the valley is lacking.

At the time of Alexander's invasion Kashmir seems to have been under the rule of the king of Abhisāra. In the initial stages, he helped the chief of Assakenos against Alexander by offering military assistance, but afterwards submitted to the latter. It is said that when Alexander, at the close of his campaign was returning from India, he left the king of Abhisāra to rule over Kashmir with the state of Arsaces (Uraśā i.e., Hazāra) added to his kingdom.[4]

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[1] *Indian Archaeology, A Review*, 1960-61, p. 11; 1961-62, pp. 17-21.

[2] H. C. Raychoudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (6th ed.), pp. 239-40.

[3] S. Sen, *Old Persīan Inscriptions*, pp. 2-6.

[4] McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, pp. 69, 111-112.

According to Kalhaṇa, there ruled in Kashmir in the earliest time, fifty-two rulers. The names of those kings were not recorded by later chroniclers, but four of them, fortunately were mentioned in the *Nīlamatapurāṇa.* They were Gonanda I, his son Dāmodara I, Dāmodara's wife Yaśovatī and the latter's son Gonanda II. Kalhaṇa connects these kings with some of the legends of the *Mahābhārata* which can be easily dismissed as a myth.[5] Gonanda II was followed by thirty-five kings whose names and deed perished through the destruction of records.[6] They were followed by eight kings named respectively as Lava, Kuśa, Khagendra, Surendra, Godhara, Survarṇa, Janaka and Śacīnara. The first four belonged to one dynasty and the last four to the other. It is said that some of these princes granted *agrahāras* to the Brāhmaṇas, a few of them built towns and one of them excavated a canal.[7] Nothing is known about the historicity of any of them.

The king next mentioned is Aśoka. He embraced the doctrine of Jina, set up *vihāras* and *stūpas* at Vitastātra and Śuṣkaletra, and erected a town named Śrīnagarī. A Śaiva temple of Vijayeśvara was repaired and two new ones called Aśokeśvara were built by him.[8] Though Kalhaṇa represents him as a local ruler, yet his description of the king as a follower of Jina, i.e., Buddha and builder of numerous *stūpas* marks him out as the Maurya emperor of the namesake. The fact receives corroboration from Hiuen Tsang who saw Aśokan *stūpas* in the valley.[9] In the *Mahāvaṁsa,* Kashmir is grouped with other outlying territories of the empire of Aśoka.[10]

If Kalhaṇa is to be believed, Aśoka was succeeded on the throne of this northernmost territory by his son Jalauka and the latter by a king named Dāmodara II after which the valley passed into the hands of the Turuṣka rulers called Huṣka,

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[5] *R. T.,* I, 44-82.

[6] *R. T.,* I, 83. Informations supplied by later Muhammadan Chroniclers regarding names of these lost rulers are not trustworthy.

[7] *R. T.,* I, 84-100.

[8] *R. T.,* I, 102-107.

[9] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), i, p. 150

[10] *Mahāvaṁsa,* XII, 3.

Juṣka and Kaniṣka. Jalauka is described as a good warrior who freed the valley from the *mleccha* occupation and effected extensive conquests, including Kānyakubja. He is also said to be an able administrator. A follower of Śiva, he at first was against Buddhism but afterwards adopted a friendly attitude towards it.[11] The facts recorded by Kaihaṇa cannot be corroborated from any other source.

After the fall of the Maurya empire, north-west India was subject to several foreign invasions and the valley of Kashmir could not possibly keep herself immune from these convulsions. Tarn suggests that for a few years Demetrius was the lord of a realm which included southern Kashmir.[12] A fragment in Ptolemy gives the names of two provinces in Menander's home kingdom east of the Jhelum of which Kaspeiria, the upper valleys of the Jhelum, Chenab and Ravi, would correspond to southern Kashmir.[13] In the *Milindapañha* it is stated that the discussion between Nāgasena and Milinda was held at a place which was only twelve *yojanas* from Kashmir.[14] Cunningham records a large find of silver coins of Azes and Azilises 'on the bank of the Jhelum river, in the hills between Baramula and Jhelum.'[15] But inspite of occasional influence of the Indo-Greek or Indo-Scythic rulers, there can be little doubt that the valley in the period following the extinction of Mauryan rule, was mostly ruled by local rulers. No authentic account about the names and activities of such rulers however can be found out.

Kalhaṇa's account of Turuṣka rulers indicates without doubt the Kuṣāṇa occupation of the valley.[16] Of the three kings mentioned by him Huṣka may be identified with Huviṣka, Juṣka with Vāṣiṣka and Kaniṣka with Kaniṣka I or II, more accurately with the former. Each of these rulers are credited with the foundation of a town named after each of them. These towns still exist. These princes were great patrons of Buddhism and are said to have built many *maṭhas, caityas* and other similar structures almost all of which seem to have perished. Hiuen Tsang confirms Kalhaṇa that Kashmir under the Kuṣāṇas, went Buddhist.[17] The description of the dynasty as Turuṣka receives corroboration from Alberuni.[18]

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[11] *R. T.*, I, 108-150.

[12] W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 155.

[13] Ptolemy, VII, 42.

[14] *Milindapañha* (ed. Trenckner), pp. 82-83.

[15] Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, p. 44.

[16] *R. T.*, I, 168-173.

What happened in Kashmir after the fall of the great Kuṣāṇas is not known for certain. Probably the valley was ruled by local rulers of Kuṣāṇa affiliation. Numismatic evidence tends to show that parts of the valley, during this period, came under Kidāra-Kuṣāṇas.[19] Kalhaṇa, however, pushes a series of local rulers, who, according to him followed the great Turuṣkas. The first of these, Abhimanyu, is credited with the foundation of a town called Abhimanyupura. Under his orders the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali was brought into the valley. During his reign, Buddhism rose to a prominence and this enraged the Nāgas, who sent successive snowfall to kill the Buddhists. At the end, the traditional religion of the land as prescribed in the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* was established.. Next king Gonanda III further promoted the cause of the traditional religion. He was followed by four kings, Vibhīṣaṇa I, Indrajit, Rāvaṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa II, names which remind one of the demon warriors of the *Rāmāyaṇa.* The last one was succeeded by his son Nara who built a town after his name. Then came five kings, Siddha,

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[17] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal, 1958 edition), pp. 190-91.

[18] *India* (tr. Sachau) ii, pp. 10-12.

[19] Coins attributed to the kings of Kashmir who ruled from the sixth century onwards, hint in a curious way about events that might have taken place after the end of the Imperial Kuṣāṇa rule. The Toramāṇa copper coins which were current in the valley presumably from that period onwards, and the electrum and copper coins of the Karkoṭa rulers have as their type a king standing and a seated goddess, a type adopted by the Kidāra Kuṣāṇa rulers in their gold issues. Particularly, the Karkoṭa coin-type of headless king and seated goddess is nothing but a degenerated Kidāra type. Besides, both the Toramāṇa issues and the issues of the Karkoṭa have either in their obverse or in the reverse the letters *Kidāra* or *Kidā* or simply *Ki,* thus copying the Kidāra Kuṣāṇa legend. All that it may indicate is that before the sixth century, the Kidāra-Kuṣāṇa coins were in circulation in the valley of Kashmir and served as a model of the succeeding issues.

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Utpalākṣa, Hiraṇyākṣa, Hiraṇyakula and Vasukula who ruled in succession.[20]

The next king mentioned by Kalhaṇa is Mihirakula. He is undoubtedly the celebrated Hūṇa monarch of the same name who ruled over a large part of north India after the fall of the Gupta empire. His occupation of the valley of Kashmir is corroborated by the evidence of Hiuen Tsang.[21] The Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman tends to show that the capital of this Hūṇa monarch was in the Himalayan region or at least not much removed from it.[22] Kalhaṇa describes Mihirakula as a cruel and ruthless warrior. It is said that he used to massacre thousands of human beings without any compassion for children, women or the aged. He inflicted a crushing defeat upon the king of Ceylon and performed many supernatural deeds. He built the shrine of Śiva in his capital, founded a town in his own name and donated *agrahāras* to Gandhāra Brāhmaṇas. The king ended his life by throwing himself into fire.[23]

Kalhaṇa's description of Mihirakula as rapacious and bloodthirsty receives corroboration from Hiuen Tsang's account and popular traditions. The king's devotedness to Śiva also appears to be real.[24] It is however incredible that he undertook expedition against Ceylon.

The historical events of Kashmir on Mihirakula's death are difficult to collect or even to conjecture. The poet-historian continues his narrative but in the absence of any corroborative evidence his authenticity may very well be doubted particularly when his account seems mainly compounded of myths and legends. Whatever traces of history may be lying hidden in the tale presented by Kalhaṇa, cannot be easily distilled out of the hotchpotch. So for another hundred years, the history of Kashmir remains shrouded in mystery, till the advent of

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[20] *R. T.*, I, 174-288.

[21] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), i, p. 167.

[22] *C. I. I.*, III (ed. Fleet), pp. 146, 147.

[23] *R. T.*, I, 289-324.

[24] Kalhaṇa's description of Mihirakula as a devotee of Śiva receives confirmation from the ruler's coins which contain in them theriomorphic representation of Śiva; *I. M. C.*, I, pl. XXV, 5.

Durlabhavardhana when once again we step into the sober ground of history.

According to Kalhaṇa, Mihirakula was followed by his son Baka,. He founded a town, grooved a canal and built a temple of Śiva.[25] He was followed by four kings, Kṣitinanda, Vasunanda, Nara II and Akṣa. Vasunanda wrote a book on erotics and Akṣa founded a village.[26] King Gopāditya who came next, founded many *agrahāras* and consecrated shrine of Jyeṣṭheśvara on the mountain Gopādri.[27] His son built a temple of Śiva Gokarṇeśvara after his own name.[28] His successor king Narendrāditya, had a second name Khiṅkhila. He consecrated shrines to Śiva Bhūteśvara and his preceptor Ugra to Śiva Ugreśa. He also established an endowment for the feeding of *Brāhmaṇaṣ*.[29] Narendrāditya's son Yudhiṣṭhira, also called blind Yudhiṣṭhira was an oppressive ruler. He was driven out by his ministers and subjects.[30] The vacant throne was filled up by a person called Pratāpāditya I, a relative of king Vikramāditya who came from abroad. The valley, from the time of Pratāpāditya onwards, suffered from internal dissensions and consequently became subject to Harṣa and other foreigners.[31] After Pratāpāditya, his son Jalaukas ruled over the land.[32] King Tuñjīna who followed Jalaukas was a contemporary of poet Candaka. During his reign, a serious famine visited the valley.[33] Tuñjīna's successor Vijaya built the shrine of Vijayeśvara.[34] He was followed by his son Jayendra and the latter by his minister Saṁdhimati. Saṁdhimati Āryarājā was a pious ruler. He built shrines of Śiva, and founded *liṅgas, triśūlas,* and bulls of Śiva.

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[25] *R. T.*, I, 325-335.

[26] *R. T.*, I, 336-338.

[27] *R. T.*, I, 339-345.

[28] *R. T.*, I, 346.

[29] *R. T.*, I, 347-349.

[30] *R. T.*, I, 350-373.

[31] *R. T.*, II, 5-7. It is not clear which king Harṣa is referred to here. Harṣavardhana of Kanauj is not known to have held his sway over Kashmir.

[32] *R. T.*, II, 9-10.

[33] *R. T.*, II, 11-61.

[34] *R. T.*, II, 62.

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But his pacifism was disliked by the people, who compelled him to retire and brought in his place Meghavāhana.[35]

A descendant of the formerly banished and blind king Yudhiṣṭhira, Meghavāhana was living at the time at Gandhāra. He was a vigorous and pious ruler who carried on some conquests and prohibited the slaughter of living creatures within his realm and founded a village, an *agrahāra* and a temple. His wife Amṛtaprabhā also shared her husband's pious emotions and built a *vihāra* in her name for the benefit of foreign *bhikṣus* while her father's preceptor *Stunpā,* who came from a foreign country called Loh, established the *stūpa* of Lo Stonpā[36]

Meghavāhana was succeeded by his son Śreṣṭhasena, also known by two other names of Pravarasena and Tuñjīna. He built various holy shrines at Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna.[37] After Śreṣṭhasena his eldest son Hiraṇya ascended the throne while the youngest, Toramāṇa, became crown prince. Once Toramāṇa coined money in his own name. This incited the wrath of Hiraṇya who put the latter into prison.[38] Shortly after he was set free by his brother, Toramāṇa died.[39] At the same time Hiraṇya died without heir[40] and the throne of Kashmir which fell vacant was filled up by a poet named Mātṛgupta, a nominee of king Vikramāditya of Ujjain. This poet-king was a patron of literature and Vaiṣṇava in faith. He extended his patronage to Bhartṛmeṇṭha and built a shrine of Viṣṇu Mātṛguptasvāmin.

Mātṛgupta, however, could not reign long. The death of Vikramāditya of Ujjain weakened his position. Pravarasena II, son of Toramāṇa, who had been brought up in a farmer's house and spent his early life abroad, entered Kashmir and seized the throne after forcing Mātṛgupta to abdicate and to take refuge in the sacred *tīrtha* of Vārāṇasī.[41]

[35] *R. T.*, II, 63-171.
[36] *R. T.*, III, 2-96.
[37] *R. T.*, III, 97-101.
[38] *R. T.*, III, 102-104.
[39] *R. T.*, III, 123.
[40] *R. T.*, III, 124.
[41] *R. T.*, III, 125-323.

Pravarasena proved his martial qualities by invading Surāṣṭra[42] and defeating the king Mummuni.[43] He reinstated Śilāditya Pratāpaśila, the son of Vikramāditya on his paternal throne from which he had been deposed by his enemies. At home, his notable achievement was the foundation of the city of Pravarapura.[44]

Pravarasena was succeeded by his son Yudhiṣṭhira II and the latter by his son Lakhaṇa Narendrāditya. The king Raṇāditya who came next ruled for an unusually long period of three hundred years as the legend goes. He built some shrines in honour of Śiva. His son, king Vikramāditya, built stone temples and monasteries. Then came Bālāditya, who had a daughter named Anaṅgalekhā. Durlabhavardhana, a small official in the king's court married the princess and on Bālāditya's death, occupied the throne.[45]

The account of Kalhaṇa as given above, cannot be taken to be a reliable one in many respects. The anecdotes of Raṇāditya, who is said to have ruled for three hundred years (apparently an improbable length of time) or of Tuñjīna I whose queen is said to have fed the subjects in times of famines by sending them numberless dead pigeons through her supernatural powers and similar other versions, can best be regarded as legendary tales. A major part of his story cannot be confirmed for lack of corroborative evidence and hardly deserves any consideration. But some portions of the narrative cannot be rejected as unreal. The Amṛtaprabhāvihāra, said to have been built during the reign of Meghavāhana seems to be referred to in these Chinese pilgrim Ou-kong's account as monastery of *Ngo-mi-to-wan*.[46] The word *Stunpā* in the Tibetan language means preceptor or *guru*. Reference of the building of a *stūpa* by the preceptor of queen Amṛtaprabhā's father, who came from a foreign territory called Loh, indicates an intimate connection between Leh, i.e., Tibet and Kashmir in an early period.

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[42] Surāṣṭra is undoubtedly the ancient name of a portion of the Gujrat peninsula. But little reliance can be placed on the story of Pravarasena's conquest of the territory.

[43] According to Stein it was the title or family name of the rulers of some country or tribe; possibly this was the name of some tribe of Turkish origin such as the conquests of the Great and Little Yue-chi as well as of the White Huns brought into the regions of the Upper Indus and thus within the sphere of Kashmir politics; *R. T.* (tr. Stein), Vol. I, p. 98.

[44] *R. T.*, III, 328-364.

[45] *R. T.*, III, 379-530.

[46] *J. A.* (1895), VI, pp. 341 sq.

The striking of copper coins by Toramāṇa, brother of Hiraṇya may also have some truth behind. A large number of copper coins with the legend Toramāṇa are found in the valley. Though these coins were current up to the end of the Hindu rule, their first circulation might date as far back as the middle of the sixth century A.D.[47] It is not unlikely that they were struck by Hiraṇya's brother. Whether or not Toramāṇa is the same as Hūṇa Toramāṇa, the father of Mihirakula, is a debatable point. But the account recorded in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* has nothing in it to prove the identity.[48]

Pravarasena II, son of Toramāṇa, is undoubtedly a historical figure. The city of Pravarapura owes its name to him. To him can also be attributed some gold and silver coins which bear unmistakable influence of the Kidāra Kuṣāṇa coins.[49] Exact date of Paravarasena cannot be determined. But it is likely that he flourished in the later half of the sixth century.

Vikramāditya Harṣa of Ujjain is described as an earlier contemporary of Pravarasena II and his son Śilāditya Pratāpaśila as a later one. The Chinese pilgrim of the seventh century mentions Śilāditya of Malwa who lived in *c.* 580 A.D.,[50] and apparently indicates him as the successor of Vikramāditya.[51] But the alleged influence of the latter over the secluded valley goes unfounded.

It is very likely that after Mihirakula other Hūṇa rulers ruled over the valley. Though Kalhaṇa does not specifically mention any other prince as Hūṇa, some of the names recorded by him disclose their foreign identity. Narendrāditya, who had another name Khiṅkhila might be a Hūṇa king.[52] Hiraṇyakula, Vasukula and Toramāṇa look like Hūṇa names. They might well be Hinduised Hūṇa princes. Lakhaṇa Narendrāditya is perhaps to be identified with Rājā Lakhaṇa Udayāditya, who struck silver coins of the Epthalite Hūṇa type.[53]

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[47] The initial date of the coin, apart from other considerations, is suggested by the character of the scripts in the coin legend.

[48] S. C. Ray, The identity of Toramāṇa of Kāśmīra Coins, *J. N. S. I.*, XIII, pp. 152-157.

[49] Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 43.

[50] *Si-yu-ki*, (tr. Beal), ii, p. 261.

[51] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), i, p. 108.

Durlabhavardhana is said to have descended from Karkoṭa nāga, a widely worshipped serpent deity and the dynasty raised by him thus came to be known as Karkoṭa.[54] This story of descent from serpent seems to be an ingenuous invention to cover the humble origin of a family that rose from the rut. During the reign of Durlabhavardhana the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang visited the valley. To the latter we owe the useful information about the extent of the contemporary kingdom of Kashmir which included besides Kashmir, Takṣaśilā, east of the Indus, Uraśā or Hazāra, Siṁhapura or the salt range and the smaller hill states of Rājāpurī and Parṇotsa.[55] Probably Takṣaśilā was conquered by him. Durlabhavardhana seems to have been referred to in a notice of the Chinese Annals which say that Tu-lo-pa, a king of India, controlled the route from China to Ki-pin at a point between 627 and 649 A.D.[56] A number of coins, with rude execution of headless king and seated goddess type with the name of the king written over them,[57] apparently belong to him.

After Durlabhavardhana's death his son Pratāpāditya II Durlabhaka became king. He seems to have had a long but uneventful reign. He is credited with the foundation of a town in his own name which is probably represented by the present village of Ṭāpar.[58]

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[52] An unique silver coin with the legend Deva Śāhi Khiṅgila may be attributed to him, Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, pl. VII, 11. The type of his coin is unmistakably that of an Ephthalite ruler.

[53] Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp. 97, 111 and pl. VII, 12. For a detailed discussion on various types of alleged Kashmirian Hūṇa Coins, see Stein, *R. T.* (tr.), Vol. I, p. 106 (foot-notes).

[54] *R. T.*, III, 529-30.

[55] *Si-yu-ki*, i, pp. 136, 143, 147 and 163.

[56] A. Rémusat, *Nouv. Melanges Asiat*, i, p. 212.

[57] Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 43.

[58] *R. T.*, IV, 7-44.

Candrāpīḍa, the eldest son, succeeded his father Pratāpāditya II.[59] He is to be identified with *Tchen-to-lo-pi-li* mentioned in the Chinese Annals and ruling over Kashmir between A.D. 713 and 720.[60] He seems to have come in conflict with the Arabs to wage war against whom he sent an envoy to the emperor of China in A.D., 713 asking for military assistance.[61] Possibly, the Arabs, at this time, under the leadership of Muhammed-bin-Quasim reached up to the frontiers of the valley.

Candrāpīḍa was succeeded by his second brother Tārāpīḍa who died after a short reign and was followed by the youngest one, Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa.[62]

Lalitāditya is credited with extensive conquests not only in the Himalayan regions adjoining to the valley of Kashmir but also in the distant plains of India. He is said to have defeated Yaśovarman, king of Kanauj, overrun Kaliṅga, brought under his sway the Karṇāṭa princess Raṭṭa and marched through the kingdoms of Koṅkaṇa, Dvārakā and Avanti. The king of Gauḍa sent a horde of elephants to join the army of the king of Kashmir, apparently in acknowledgement of the latter's supremacy. In the Uttarāpatha region, he defeated the Kambojas, the Tukhāras, Mummuni, the Bhauṭṭas and the Darads. The adjoining territories of Jālaṁdhara and Lohara submitted to him. The Śāhi princes held court offices under him. The king next carried his arms to Prāgjyotiṣa, Strīrājyas, kingdom of the Uttarakurus and Vālukāmbudhi (ocean of sands).[63]

The account of Lalitaditya's conquest (*digvijaya*) is no doubt exaggerated, but not baseless. His triumph over Yaśovarman, the king of Kanauj, who is also mentioned in the Prākṛt epic *Gauḍavaho* was an accomplished fact. Kalhaṇa has recorded a very detailed account of the conflict. It is said that Yaśovarman at first submitted to his adversary but afterwards dispute arose over the drawing up of the treaty in which the king of Kanauj wanted to have his name in precedence to the Kashmirian. As a result, a protracted battle followed, at the end of which the king of Kanauj was wholly uprooted (*samūlaṁ udapāṭayat*). Whether this meant death of Yaśovarman or mere defeat, it is difficult to say. One thing however is clear. After this defeat at the hands of the Kashmirian king, Yaśovarman fades away from the political scene. Lalitāditya's victory over the Kanauj region and regions further to its east is corroborated by finds of Kashmirian coins containing the legend *Śrī-Pratāpa,*[64] a title that the king adopted, according to Kalhaṇa, on the completion of his successful campaign.[65]

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[59] *R. T.*, IV, 45.

[60] Klaproth, *Mémoires relatifsà l'Asie,* ii, pp. 275 sq.

[61] A. Rémusat, *Nouv. Melanges Asiat.*, i. pp. 196 sq.

[62] *R. T.*, IV, 118-126.

[63] *R. T.*, IV, 131-180.

According to the Chinese Annals, in A.D. 731, Yi-sha-fu-mo, a king of Central India sent his minister to the court of China. In A.D. 736, Lalitāditya, in unison with a king of Central India fought against the Tibetans. If the monarch referred to on both the occasions is Yaśovarman, it will have to be concluded that the king of Kashmir in the early part of his reign maintained a friendly relation with his later adversary.[66]

The claims of Lalitāditya's conquest of other territories in the plains of India cannot be proved. It is extremely doubtful if he could send his army to such distant parts as Kaliṅga, Karṇāṭa, Koṅkaṇa, Dvārakā or Avanti. Kalhaṇa records a curious story that the king of Gauḍa on the promise of personal safety came to Kashmir and was treacherously killed by Lalitāditya. In order to take revenge of the death of their beloved monarch, the followers of the Gauḍa king went all the way from Gauḍa to Kashmir with the purpose of destroying the image of Parihāsakeśava, the adored deity of the king of Kashmir. By mistake, they broke the image of Rāmasvāmin and were ultimately caught and killed by the enemy. However, the devotion, courage and chivalry of the Gauḍas earned for them a lasting

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[64] The Śrī-Pratāpa types of Kashmirian coins have been recorded from the village of Bhitaware, District Fyzabad, from Banda district, U. P., from Rajghat and Sarnath, in the confines of Varanasi, from Monghyr district and from the ancient university site of Nalanda, District Patna; *JRAS*, 1906, p. 843; *J. A. S. B., N. S.*, 1928, pp. 6-9; *J. N. S. I, X;* pp. 30-32; *Ann. Rep. A. S. I.* (Eastern Circle), 1919-20, p. 48.

[65] *R. T.*, IV, 134.

[66] J. A., 1895, p. 353.

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fame.[67] All that has been recorded by Kalhaṇa might not have actually taken place. But this story coupled with the other description of the hordes of elephants from Gauḍa joining the Kashmirian force tends to show that the Karkoṭa ruler, in course of his eastern Indian campaign, might have come in conflict with the king of Gauḍa. The contemporary anarchical condition in Bengal might have smoothened the contact.

Lalitāditya's claims of conquest in the Uttarāpatha region appear to be more tangible. The country of the Kambojas probably lay in eastern part of Afghanistan. The Tukhāras were settled in the Tokharistān of early Muslim writers, comprising Badakshān and the immediately adjoining tracts on the upper Oxus. In the eighth century A.D., the region was populated by tribes of Turkish race. Lalitāditya's victory in the locality receives corróboration from a tradition recorded in Alberuni's account. The tradition speaks of Kashmirian king Muttai's (i.e., Muktāpīḍa) triumph over the Turks.[68] Lalitāditya is said to have brought from the country of the Tukhāras, Caṅkuṇa, whom he made his minister. Kalhaṇa attributes to Caṅkuṇa, besides a *stūpa,* the foundation of two *vihāras*. One of these was visited by Ou-Kong.[69] Excavations have unearthed a lofty *stūpa* at Parihāsapura which may be taken to be one of them. A ruined *caitya* from the same site yields some epigraphs which read as Camaṇa and Caṁku.[70] They probably refer to the minister. The Darad tribe dwelt to the immediate north of Kashmir, in the region extending from Citral and Yasin, across the Indus region of Gilgit, Cilas and Buñji to the Kiṣaṇgaṅgā valley. The Bhauṭṭas were Tibetans. They occupied the regions immediately to the east and north-east of Kashmir, i.e., the modern mountain districts of Dras, Ladakh and Skardo. Lalitāditya's claim of victory over the Tibetans receives confirmation from Tang annals.[71] The meaning of the word Mummuni is not clear. It may be a title adopted by the chief of some family or tribe living in the adjoining region of Kashmir.[72] The kingdom of Jālaṁdhara, if Hiuen Tsang is to be believed, included, in addition to the Jālaṁdhara district of Punjab, the hill territories on the upper course of the Beas, particularly Kangra.[73] Lohara corresponds to present Punch. These territories, situated as they were just on the southern and south-eastern border of Kashmir, had naturally to feel the weight of the newly arisen power. A hold over these territories was probably necessary for the Kashmirian king for an easy passage to the Madhyadeśa. The Śāhis who served the court of Kashmir were perhaps the Śāhi princes of the Gilgit region, who from the Hatun inscription appear to have held sway over the region sometime after the sixth century.[74] The story of Lalitāditya's conquest of other Himalayan territories which follows next, lacks authenticity. Strīrājya and Uttarakuru are semi-mythical lands, the ocean of sand has been suggested to indicate the deserts of Central Asia,[75] but it cannot be definitely proved that Lalitāditya carried his arms so far. The claim over Prāgyotiṣa or Assam, like that over Kaliṅga and Karṇāṭa, is unfounded.[76]

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[67] *R. T.,* IV, 323-335.

[68] *India* (tr. Sachau), ii, p. 178.

[69] Stein, *Notes on Ou-Kong,* pp. 19 sq.

[70] D. R. Sahni, Pre Muhammadan Monuments of Kashmir, *Ann. Rep., A. S. I.,* 1915-16, pp. 59, 61.

[71] A Rémusat, *Nouv. Mélanges Asiat.,* i, pp. 196 sq.

Lalitāditya's reign was mostly spent on conquest, but foreign expeditions could not wholly detract the king's attention from home. He lent a strong impulse to architecture. Kalhaṇa attributes to him the foundation of several towns and erection of a large number of buildings. Most of the sites and structures are now wholly in ruins, and beyond identification. But such among them as may be identified amply testify to the excellence of Lalitāditya as a builder. The remains of the temple of

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[72] The identification of Mummuni with the title of the Khalifs, Amīr-ul-Mūmenīm is suggested by Levi (*J. A.* 1895, p. 351) based on a glossator's version that Mummuni means Mumen Khan. But as Stein points out this glossator is quite modern and is wholly unreliable; *R. T.*, (tr. Stein), Vol. I, p. 137.

[73] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), i, pp. 175 sq.

[74] Stein, Archaeological Notes from the Hindukush Region, *J. R. A. S.*, 1944, pp. 5 sqq.

[75] R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p. 19.

[76] For an altogether different view that most of the claims of conquest of Lalitāditya are authentic, see H. Goetz, The conquest of Western India by Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa of Kashmir, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XXVII, pt. 1, pp. 43-60.

Mārtaṇḍa, which the king had built near the *tīrtha* of the same name, are still the finest specimens of early architecture of the valley. The extensive ruins of Parihāsapura also speak of his activities in the field of architecture. Some of the *stūpas, vihāras* and *caityas* built in his reign have been unearthed and justify by their remains the high fame which the monarch had enjoyed as a builder.

Lalitāditya appears to have been fully conscious of the dangers that might arise from the insubordination of powerful classes of the society. Ḍāmaras, the landed oligarchy, appear to have grown into a powerful body and come to be a troublesome element in the State. Lalitāditya did not survive to crush them but he exhorted his successors not to allow the villagers to have more food supply than required for one year's consumption, nor more oxen, than wanted for the tillage of their fields. For 'if they should keep more wealth, they would become in a single year very formidable Ḍāmaras and strong enough to neglect the commands of the king.'[77] Doubtless this piece of sound advice bespeaks Lalitāditya's statesmanship and political sagacity.

The successors of Lalitāditya were weak and inactive. His son Kuvalayāpīḍa who followed him left the kingdom after a year in the pursuit of spiritual perfection. Another son Vajrāditya Bappiyaka earned notoriety by his cruel acts and sensuous habits. The next two rulers Prithivyāpīḍa and Saṁgrāmapīḍa died after short uneventful reigns.[78] It is likely that the Kashmirian power suffered at this stage reverses at the hands of the Arabs. Baladhuri says that in the reign of the Abbasid Caliph-al-Mansur, his governor of Sind, Hisham ibn' Amr-al-Taghlibi conquered Kashmir obtaining many prisoners and slaves.[79] By Kashmir, Baladhuri probably meant that part of Punjab, north of Multan which was under the possession of the Karkoṭas at this time. The date of Amr-al-Taghlibi falls between A.D. *c.* 768-72. This period, according to the Karkoṭa chronology accepted in this work corresponds to the reigns of the weak successors of Lalitāditya.

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[77] *R. T.*, IV, 347-348.

[78] *R. T.*, IV, 372-401.

[79] Baladhuri, *Kitab Futuh al-Buldan* (tr. Hitti and Murgotten), ii, pp. 230-31.

The next king was Jayāpīḍa, grandson of Lalitāditya. He set out for conquests in the plains of India, and according to Kalhaṇa, defeated the five Gauḍas and the king of Kanauj.[80] The claims cannot be corroborated, though in the contemporary anarchical conditions of northern and eastern India, it could have been possible for Jayāpīḍa to obtain some military success in the lines of his grandfather. Some sites in the Madhyadeśa have yielded (Banda district and Rajghat, Varanasi both in Uttar Pradesh) along with the *Śrī-Pratāpa* coins of Lalitāditya, coins of a similar type but with the legend *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa*. Some scholars are of opinion that *'ja'* here indicates Jayāpīda who struck this additional word on the prevailing coin-type of his grandfather, after he had defeated the king of Kanauj or that he accompanied Lalitāditya's expedition and as a viceroy of his grandfather's conquered provinces struck the initial of his name on the latter's prevailing coin-type.[81] In his home province, however, Jayāpīḍa struck a different type of coin, which has not been met within the plains of northern India.

While Jayāpīḍa was away from Kashmir, his brother-in-law Jajja is said to have usurped the throne. Returning from his successful expeditions, Jayāpīḍa met Jajja near Śuṣkaletra in the Kashmir valley. A fierce battle ensued in which the latter was ousted and slain, after ruling the valley for three years.[82]

Subsequently Jayāpīḍa is again said to have set out for conquest. In this expedition, he encountered Bhīmasena, king of eastern India and Aramudi, king of Nepal. None of these kings are otherwise known and the account looks more like legened than fact. His conquest of Śtrīrājya also belongs to the horizon of legend.[83] Of a more sober and genuine character is Kalhaṇa's list of various scholars and poets like Kṣīra, Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa,

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[80] *R. T.*, IV, 468, 471.

[81] A. S. Altekar, The attribution of Śrī-ja-Pratāpa coins, *J. N. S. I.*, X, pp. 34 sqq.

[82] *R. T.*, IV, 410, 472-482.

[83] *R. T.*, IV, 519-588.

Dāmodaragupta etc., who flourished in Jayāpīḍa's court.[84] He founded a new capital named Jayapura, which is marked by the present village of Andarkoṭh.[85] During the close of his reign, he is stated to have fallen a prey to avarice and have oppressed his subjects by fiscal exactions.[86]

The history of the Karkoṭa dynasty after Jayāpīḍa is a sad story of decline. Lalitāpīḍa, son and successor of Jayāpīḍa was an indolent and profligate prince who squandered the wealth of the State in worthless pursuits. His half-brother Saṁgrāmapīḍa II or Pṛthivyāpīḍa achieved nothing of note during his seven years of reign. Cippaṭajayāpīḍa, who followed him, was the son of Lalitāpīḍa by Jayādevī, a concubine of low origin. He was a minor at the time of his accession. The situation was fully exploited by his maternal uncles Padma, Utpala, Kalyāṇa, Mamma and Dharma who exercised the royal power de-facto. After a nominal rule of twelve years, Cippaṭa was killed by his uncles. His follower Ajitāpīḍa was a puppet at the hands of Utpala. His reign was marked by the discord and mutual jealousy of Padma and his brothers. The hostility between the regents ultimately led to a fierce battle between Mamma and Utpala, which concluded in the latter's defeat and in the overthrow of Ajitāpīḍa. Mamma and his victorious party next raised to the throne, Anaṅgāpīḍa, son of Saṁgrāmapīḍa II. A few years later, Utpala's son Sukhavarman raised a successful rebellion and crowned his own nominee Utpalāpīḍa, a son of Ajitāpīḍa. Sometime after, while Sukhavarman was on the point of assuming the royal dignity himself, he was killed by a relative. The throne was ultimately secured for his family when the powerful minister Śūra deposed the reigning monarch and placed Avantivarman, son of Sukha on the throne.[87]

Politically as well as economically, Kashmir suffered great loss during the regime of Jayāpīḍa's successors. Not only were the distant territories conquered by the prowess of Lalitāditya lost, but there are reasons to believe that even the adjoining hill tracts took full advantage of the weakness of the later Karkoṭas and threw off the Kashmirian yoke. The expeditions of Śaṁkaravarman, son of Avantivarman were directed against Dārvābhisāra, the hill tract which stretches from the Pīr Pantsāl range to the plains of Punjab and Ṭakkadeśa, the region between the upper waters of the Chenab and the Ravi. In the north-west, his territory extended up to Vīrānaka, near Bārāmūla. It is thus clear that during the feeble rule of the later Karkoṭas, Kashmir had lost most of her conquered provinces and her suzerainty had come to be confined to the Vitastā basin, east of Bārāmūla. The economic ruin was hastened by the extravagant habits of some of the monarchs as well as by their weakness which gave the ministers and the officers of the State a freehand in plunder. According to Kalhaṇa the riches of Jayāpīḍa were partly squandered by his son Lalitāpīḍa but subsequently plundered in *toto* by Padma and his brothers. 'They carried off the revenue of the country, feasted in mutual jealousy on the masterless kingdom, like wolves on a dead buffalo in the desert.' The valley was overtaken by disastrous floods, resulting in famines when one *khāri* of rice used to fetch as high a price as 1050 *dīnāras*. The anarchical and uncertain conditions of the state had a natural effect of depression on contemporary trade and commerce. Absence of coins of the successors of Jayāpīḍa is indicative of the poor financial condition of the period.

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[84] *R. T.*, IV, 495-497.

[85] *R. T.*, IV, 506-511.

[86] *R. T.*, IV., 620-639.

[87] *R. T.*, IV, 660-716.

In spite of the weak and feeble rule of the later Karkoṭas when 'the country had through the action of time become reduced in population and wealth,' the Karkoṭa reign as a whole must be considered as one of the most glorious and remarkable periods in the history of Kashmir. Under the leadership of the early Karkoṭas, she rose to be a formidable power and carried on a policy of aggrandisement in all directions. The extravagant claims of conquest made by Kalhaṇa are not borne out by facts. But at the same time, the incorporation of adjoining regions, conquests of a number of Himalayan tracts and acquisition of a considerable part of north Indian territory are some of the achievements that cannot be disputed. Never before the Karkoṭa period, had the valley performed such a feat, nor was she able to repeat it in future. But what led to this sudden eminence? Our sources for the period do not speak of any social or economic revolution going before this spectacular rise. If there was no change in the existing socio-economic system, what else could have led Kashmir to undertake daring expeditions in the Himalayas and in the north Indian plains? Wherefrom could she obtain the requisite money and other necessaries to man a huge army and carry on prolonged wars? The answer is probably to be sought, not in Kashmir itself, but elsewhere. Kashmir could never conduct the expensive wars on her scanty resources. It was, in all probability, China, who supplied the necessary resources, it was she who dictated the foreign policy of Karkoṭa Kashmir.

It has been seen that according to the Chinese annals of the Tang dynasty, sometime between the years A.D. 627–649, Durlabhavardhana was controlling the route from China to Kipin, i.e., the Kabul valley. Whether the Karkoṭa king was guarding the route in his independent capacity or as a vassal of the Son of Heaven, is not clear from the context. But the latter possibility cannot be altogether ruled out, particularly when we learn that during the Tang period it was the Chinese who controlled routes from China to Central Asia, through the Turkish and the Turfan countries.

Tchen-to-lo-pi-li, king of Kashmir, mentioned in the Tang annals, is undoubtedly the Chinese counterpart of Candrāpīḍa. It has been already noted that he sought aid from the Chinese emperor against the Arabs in A.D. 713. Then again about A.D. 720, *Tchen-to-lo-pi-li* was at his request granted the title of 'King' on the imperial rolls.[88] This conferring of kingly dignity by the Chinese emperor conclusively proves the subordinate position of the king of Kashmir.

There was no change in Sino-Kashmirian relation after Candrāpīḍa's death. His brother Lalitāditya adopted the same policy of allegiance to the Chinese emperor.

In the second quarter of the eighth century, the growing power of the Tibetans had assumed a threat to China. There are reasons to believe that Lalitāditya carried on prolonged wars with the Tibetans to release the pressure on China. His ambassador requested military help from the Chinese emperor and in sup-

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[88] A Rémusat, *Nouv. Mélanges Asiat,* i, pp. 196 sq.

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port of his demand reported that in alliance with the king of Central India the king of Kashmir had blocked the five routes of Tibet. He also claimed for his master's repeated victory over the Tibetans, 'the dreaded enemies of China'.[89]

It has been observed that in Candrāpīḍa's reign, China supplied military aid to Kashmir. In Lalitāditya's time she depended on Chinese help to fight the Tibetans. What could have led China to help Kashmir ? She could scarcely have any interest in Kashmir's policy of aggrandisement, if she herself did not gain anything from it. But as it was, the expansion of Karkoṭa Kashmir was not merely the expansion of an Indian kingdom, it seems to have been in reality the extension of the supremacy of China in the Himalayan regions. According to Chinese testimony, in hundred years, roughly extending from 650—750, a quadrangular fight was being fought between the Turks, the Turfans, the Arabs and the Chinese, for the possession of Central Asia.[90] It is apparent that Kashmir as a subordinate ally assisted China in her enterprises in that region. Candrāpīḍa fought with the Arabs, because Chinese interests demanded it; since China came in conflict with Tibet, the king of Kashmir had to block all the routes of the hill kingdom. Lalitāditya's expeditions against the Tukhāras and the Darads probably had the same objective in view, namely, to assist in the establishment of Tang supremacy in those regions.

It is true that Karkoṭa Kashmir also adopted a policy of aggrandisement southwards, i.e., in the north Indian plains. But that was a corollary of her main policy, the conquest of the Himalayan powers. So long as the Tang dynasty was in power, she evinced great strength. But with the decline of the Tangs, came a change in the foreign policy of China. Domestic troubles compelled her to discontinue a policy of aggression. When the Chinese help ceased, Kashmir is no longer seen to carry on a policy of expansion. She retired from the scene, never to appear again.

The chronology of the Karkoṭas has been a subject of much controversy. From the time of Avantivarman, Kalhaṇa reckons the reign of every sovereign in terms of *laukika* era. The *laukika* era corresponds to 3076–75 B.C. and all the statements in the *laukika* era can be worked out with reference to their Christian equivalent. But the case is otherwise in relation to the Karkoṭas. Except for the reign of Cippaṭajayāpīḍa, a later Karkoṭa prince, whose death is said to have taken place in the *laukika* era of 3889, the reigns of other monarchs are calculated in terms of period only and never referred to any era. Calculating backwards from Avantivarman, we of course reach to some dates for the rulers of the Karkoṭa dynasty. The total length of reigns of all these rulers come to two hundred and fifty-four years six months which, if calculated backwards from A.D., 855-56 the date of Avantivarman's assumption of sovereignty, would give A.D. 600 as Durlabha-vardhana's date of accession. The chronology of the Karkoṭas thus would be:

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[89] *Ibid.*

[90] Tsu Chi, *A short history of Chinese Civilisation*, p. 144.

Durlabhavardhana, 600–636, Pratāpāditya II, 636–686, Candrāpīḍa, 686–694, Tārāpīḍa, 694–699, Muktāpīḍa, 699–736, Kuvalayāpīḍa, 736-737, Vajrāditya Bappiyaka, 737–744, Pṛthivyāpīḍa, 744–748, Saṁgrāmapīḍa, 748, Jajja, 748–751, Jayāpīḍa, 751–782, Lalitāpīḍa, 782–794, Saṁgrāmapīḍa II, 794–801, Cippaṭajayāpīḍa, 801–813, Ajitāpīḍa, 813–850, Anaṅgāpīḍa, 850–853, Utpalāpīḍa, 853–855.

It is interesting to note that these dates receive indirect corroboration from another late Kashmirian work, *Ratnākara Purāṇa* which was discovered in Jainu-l-abidin's reign and whose Persian translation was prepared by Mullah Ahmad under royal orders.[91] According to this authority Raṇāditya, the legendary king of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* ruled from A.D., 414 to 474 and his immediate successor Vinayāditya from A.D. 474 to 521 After him, two more kings Vikramāditya and Bālāditya ruled for 42 years and 37 years 4 months respectively, as we learn from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī.* So, Vikramāditya dates from A.D. 521 to 563 and Bālāditya from A.D. 563 to 600. The date of Durlabhavardhana's accession thus comes to A.D., 600 a result obtained also from the backward calculation of the reigning periods of the Karkoṭa kings, from Avantivarman downwards.

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[91] *J. A. S. B.*, 1913, pp. 197-204.

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This chronology of the Karkoṭas could perhaps be accepted at least for all working purposes, had it not been seriously contradicted by a contemporary authority, the Chinese annals of the Tang dynasty. It has been already noted that *Tchen-to-lo-pi-li,* i.e., Candrāpīḍa, king of Kashmir, according to the evidence furnished by the Tang historians, applied to the Chinese emperor in A.D. 713 for aid against the Arabs and that in A.D. 720 the Son of Heaven conferred upon him the title of the king. Candrāpīḍa must have been living as late as the previous year A.D. 719, which makes the error in the Kashmirian chronology to at least twenty-five years. Then again according to the Chinese testimony Lalitāditya sent an embassy to China requesting for an alliance against the Tibetans during the reign of Hiuen Tsang, A.D. 713–755 and after the first Chinese expedition against Po-liu (Baltistan), which fell between the years 736–747. This places Lalitāditya apparently to a period ranging from A.D. 736 onwards, but according to the reckoning of the Indian sources that year marks the end of his reign.

Some scholars have questioned the authenticity of the Chinese sources.[92] But the 'Chinese have been more precise in their system of chronology' and certainly their evidence deserves acceptance in preference to Indian sources of later dates and unknown authorship. A general addition of 25 years with Kalhaṇa's dates however would drag the Karkoṭas down to A.D. 880 when we learn for certain that Avantivarman was reigning. The only way to explain the problem is to assume that Kalhaṇa assigned longer periods to some of the Karkoṭa princes than what they had actually seen and thus added a total surplus of at least twenty-five years to the whole. The actual reigning period of each of the Karkoṭa kings is thus indeterminable and the problem of Karkoṭa chronology remains unsolved.

Avantivarman's accession took place in A.D 855-56 and he reigned up to 883. Though the triumph of the Utpalites finally put an end to the ministerial rivalries for the throne, the anarchical conditions of the later Karkoṭa period fostered the growth of other unruly elements. The most remarkable of these was the rise of the powerful Ḍāmaras. It seems, they had been amassing fortunes by confiscating the villages endowed to temple establishments and similar other measures and were not afraid of the royal hostility. The story recorded by Kalhaṇa that a Ḍāmara named Dhanva who usurped even properties belonging to the temples was ruthlessly suppressed by the minister Śūra,[93] is indicative of the strong measures that were adopted to control this unruly class.

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[92] N. N. Dasgupta, On the date of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, *Indian Culture,* XIV, 1947, 11-19.

The economic recovery was the next item of the programme. From a remote time and particularly during the weak rule of the later Karkoṭas, floods and famines had frequently visited the valley. Avantivarman wanted to put an end to this recurring calamity and entrusted the work of fighting flood and famine to his minister Suyya. Suyya found that the recurrence of flood in the valley was due to the waters of the Vitastā which could not get with considerable swiftness through the gorge, some three miles below Bārāmūla as the compressed passage got blocked with boulders. He removed the rocks and built stone walls to protect their further sliding. He also constructed new beds for the river. As a result of these activities thousands of acres of arable land were reclaimed and hundreds of new villages sprang up on these sites. Suyya supplemented these measures by an equally important step of improving the irrigation system, which was indispensable for the cultivation of the staple food of Kashmir. In the words of the Chronicler, 'after examining the different classes of land, he procured a supply of river water for the villages, which thus were no longer dependant only on rainfall. After watching all village lands, he took from each village some soil, and ascertained, by (observing) the time it took to dry up, the period within which irrigation would be required for each soil, respectively. He then arranged accordingly on a permanent basis for the size and distribution of the water-course for each village, and by using for irrigation the Anūlā and other streams, embellished all regions with an abundance of irrigated fields which were distinguished for excellent produce.'[94]

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[93] *R. T.*, V, 51-60.

[94] *R. T.*, V, 84-112.

The economic prosperity and political stability of the kingdom found expression in building activities. The king founded the city of Avantipura (after his own name) and embellished it with two newly built temples, Avantīśvara and Avantisvāmī.[95] Both of them are in ruins but even in ruins, the latter stands out as one of the most imposing monuments of ancient Kashmir and bespeaks its builder's resources. The men of letters patronised by the king included the celebrated Muktākaṇa, poets Śivasvāmin and Ratnākara and philosopher Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa.[96]

Śaṁkaravarman succeeded his father after some initial difficulties when a ministerial group tried to put up a rival claimant. With the help of his faithful associates, he, however, came out victorious.[97]

The recovery of the lost territories and rebuilding of a pan Kashmirian kingdom like that of the great Karkoṭas was the aim of the new king. He conquered Dārvābhisāra, the kingdom lying between the Jhelum and the Chenab, to the north of Gujrat, in the Punjab. Next he defeated Pṛthvīcandra, king of Trigarta, the present Kangra.[98] Pṛthivīcandra's name does not find a place in the genealogical list of Katoch *rājās*, who had ruled Kangra from a remote period. But Candra is the name ending of all the members of Katoch family and Kalhaṇa's Pṛthvīcandra may well be a historical figure. The Gurjara territory, whose name is preserved in the modern townname Gujrat, comprised the 'upper portion of the flat doab between the Jhelum and Chenab rivers south of Dārvābhisāra, and probably also a part of the Punjab plain further east.' Alakhāna, the king of Gurjara, is said to have saved his kingdom by ceding the Ṭakkaland to Śāmkaravarman.[99] The Ṭakka territory probably indicated a tract adjoining the lower hills east of the Chenab. Śaṁkaravarman is also said to have curbed the powers of a king named Bhoja.[100] Whether this king is Mihira Bhoja the celebrated Pratihāra ruler of north India or some local ruler, is a matter of controversy. Another king with whom Śaṁkaravarman came in conflict was Lalliya Śāhi, king of Udabhāṇḍapura, who was an ally of Alakhāna.[101] He was evidently a member of the Śāhi dynasty of Kabul and may be identified with Kallar, the founder of the Hindu Śāhi dynasty of Und, mentioned in the account of Alberuni.[102] Śaṁkaravarman does not appear to have obtained any considerable success in his campaign against the Śāhi king.

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[95] *R. T.*, V, 44-45.

[96] *R. T.*, V, 34.

[97] *R. T.*, V, 128-135.

[98] *R. T.*, V, 141-147.

[99] *R. T.*, V, 149-150.

[100] *R. T.*, V, 151.

The expensive wars of Śaṁkaravarman drained the treasury with the result that at the end of his campaign, he was compelled to undertake all sorts of measures for raising taxes. 'Certain new imposts which the king introduced and the collection of which was assigned to special revenue officers, seem to have weighed particularly heavy on temple endowments and priestly corporations. Equally oppressive for the cultivators were the excessive demands made for forced labour. Śaṁkaravarman seems to have organized them on a systematic basis and to have employed them also as a means for fiscal extortion. Used chiefly for transport purposes (*rūḍhabhāroḍhi*), this system of beggar has remained a characteristic feature of Kashmirian administration up to modern days. Kalhaṇa describes with much bitterness the baneful effects of this regime which favoured only the rapacious tribe of officials (*kāyastha*) and left men of learning unprovided with emoluments.'[103]

At the later part of his reign, Śaṁkaravarman led an expedition towards the Indus, through the Bārāmūla defile to avenge the death of his *dvārādhipa* at Vīrānaka in the Vitastā valley, below the gate of Bārāmūla. After destroying Vīrānaka, he conquered numerous territories on the banks of the Indus and received the homage of their kings, who submitted to him. On his march back through Uraśā, the present Hazāra district, there was a fight with the local people, in which the king was fatally wounded and ultimately succumbed to his injuries. The news of the death of the king was kept secret until the troops had in safety reached Bolyāsaka in their own territory.[104] This definite indication of the frontier line, coupled with Kalhaṇa's silence about the king's achievements in the north and east, shows clearly that in spite of his best efforts, Śaṁkaravarman could not extend the kingdom of Kashmir beyond the boundaries of the valley proper.

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[101] *R. T.*, V, 152-155.

[102] *India* (tr. Sachau), ii, p. 13

[103] Stein, *R. T.* (tr.), Vol. I, p. 105

Śaṁkaravarman wanted to build up a Kashmirian empire like that of the Karkoṭas. But his attempt met with a failure. The failure was due not so much to his own incapabilities as to the changed circumstances. The small valley, famine-stricken, over-flooded by rivers and impoverished through previous misrules of the later Karkoṭas, could hardly compete with the growing power of the Śāhis of Udabhāṇḍapura or with the mighty Pratihāras of north India. The earlier Karkoṭa success, as we have already seen, was probably accentuated by foreign collaboration. But when Śaṁkaravarman came to the arena, he was without ally and to continue his policy of expansion single-handed, he taxed the resources of his kingdom utmost to lead her at last to an economic crisis, from which she could not recover for many years to come.

The political history after Śaṁkaravarman's death is a sordid tale of jealousy, intrigue and intestine conflicts. Presence of a number of claimants for the throne and their rivalry prevented the proper working of the government. The impotency of the authority was fully exploited by the Tantrins who in their close military organisation resembled the Praetorian guards of Rome and abused their strength in the same shameless manner. The pretenders of the throne were anxious to purchase their favour, and no sooner had one succeeded in winning them over than it was snatched away by another who had paid a higher price for it. Nothing was considered too high for the price of the crown and to attain it, to quote the words of a former chief minister of the valley, 'kings squandered their revenues, queens bartered their honour, the son intrigued against his father and the father set assassins upon his offspring all lost their sense of truth and dignity for the acquisition howsoever temporary of the fatal reward.' At last an energetic prince with the help of the Ḍāmaras, succeeded in annihilating the Tantrins, 'who had so long held the crown as a pawn' but with this act of the monarch, the country passed only from one trouble to another, for the Ḍāmaras, as we would shortly see, proved to be no less a menace to the stable government than the Tantrins.

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[104] *R. T.*, V, 215-225.

The political events that followed the death of Śaṁkaravarman may be summed up as follows. Gopālavarman, a minor son of Śaṁkaravarman succeeded the latter. The queen Sugandhā, wife of Śaṁkaravarman acted as regent. Prabhākaradeva, a minister and a man of power seems to have wielded the real power to rule. It is said that the queen fell in love with him. The latter led a victorious expedition against the seat of Śāhi power at Und. He bestowed the kingdom of rebellious Śāhi upon Toramāṇa, Lalliya's son and gave him the new name Kamaluka.[105] Kamaluka may be identified with Kamalu of Alberuni, the Hindu Śāhi prince of Udabhāṇḍapura.[106] Lalliya, as we have already seen, was possibly Kallar of Alberuni. According to Alberuni, between Kallar and Kamalu appears Samand[107] (Sāmanta) who may well be the rebellious Śāhi in defeating whom Kamaluka was aided by a Kashmirian force. Gopālavarman died after a brief reign. It is said that the minister Prabhākaradeva was instrumental for his death. He raised on the throne Saṁkaṭa, a suppositious son of Śaṁkaravarman who died after a few days. As there was no other successor left at that time, Sugandhā, the queen, assumed royal power.[108]

During the reign of Sugandhā, we hear for the first time of the Tantrins and the Ekāṅgas . The Tantrins were a body of foot soldiers who might have derived their designation from their tribal name Tantri and owned their close organisation to ethnic affinities. According to the Chronicler, in the reign of Sugandhā they had formed a confederacy and were strong enough to punish or favour the rulers of this land. The exact meaning of the term Ekāṅga cannot be explained. But the Ekāṅgas too appear to have been a body organised in military fashion, who

[105] *R. T.*, V, 228-233.

[106] *India* (tr. Sachau), ii, p. 13.

[107] *Ibid.*

[108] *R. T.*, V, 238-243.

might be employed chiefly for police duties. They have been compared with the Pattan Nizamats of Kashmir, a regiment employed until a century ago to support the civil authorities. Like the Tantrins they had also assumed considerable power and had become by the tenth century a potent force in the body politic. Sugandhā carried on her administration for two years relying on the Ekāṅgas and through the goodwill of the Tantrins. But on the question of succession, she came in conflict with the Tantrins. While she supported the claim of Nirjitavarman, nick-named Paṅgu, a grandson of Śūravarman, the half-brother of Avantivarman, the Tantrins backed Pārtha, ten-year old son of Nirjitavarman, whom by an open rebellion they placed on the throne (A.D. 906). Sugandhā retired for the time being but with the Ekāṅga assistance made a bid for the throne in 914. In the conflict that followed, the Tantrins came out victorious. The Ekāṅga power was shattered on the battlefield. The queen was taken prisoner and was ultimately put to death.[109]

From the moment of Pārtha's accession, it was his father Nirjitavarman who became the actual ruler of the valley. But to keep up his position, he had to pay large bribes to the Tantrins. In the exactions by which the Tantrins enriched themselves they were helped by two ministers, Śaṁkaravardhana and Śaṁbhuvardhana, who consequently rose to prominence. In 917-18, a serious famine visited the valley which carried away a considerable part of the population. But in this great calamity, the ministers and the Tantrins amassed large fortunes by selling stores of rice at higher prices.[110]

In the year 921, Pārtha was deposed by the Tantrins who placed Nirjitavarman formally on the throne. But the latter died after two years, and his son Cakravarman, a child, was kept on the throne under the guardianship of his mother and grandmother. A few years later a revolution of the Tantrins deposed Cakravarman and placed his half-brother Śūravarman I in his place. As the new king could not pay the desired sums of money to the Tantrins, he was replaced by Pārtha. But the promise of still greater bribe led the Tantrins to depose him and raise once again Cakravarman to the throne. Cakravarman too had to leave the throne since he failed to fulfil the promise. The soldiery next sold the throne to Śaṁbhuvardhana.[111]

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[109] *R. T.*, V, 243-262.

[110] *R. T.*, V, 263-274.

Śaṁbhuvardhana could not long wield the sceptre. The Ḍāmaras, the landed aristocracy of the land, seem to have suffered considerably at the rise of the military confederacy. With their assistance, Cakravarman came to meet the Tantrins and defeated the latter completely in a pitched battle. Śaṁbhuvardhana was captured and assassinated. The year 936 marked Cakravarman's renewed assumption of sovereignty.[112]

Cakravarman's policy of placing one of the powerful groups of the State against another, both of whom could be menace to the stability of royal authority yielded fruitful results. But this wise action was not followed by any effective measure. His third term of rule saw a predominance of the Ḍombas, a low caste, in the court and in the palace. The king indulged in vile cruelties and excesses. Ultimately a conspiracy of the Ḍāmaras put an end to his life and rule (A.D. 937).[113]

The next ruler, Unmattāvanti, a son of Pārtha, was a maniac. He indulged in cruel, senseless and immoral acts of grossly atrocious nature. At the advice of his minister Parvagupta who was scheming to capture the crown, he killed his own father and near relatives. The valley must have sighed a great relief when he died in the year 939.[114]

Śūravarman II, a suppositious son of the former was next crowned. But before the position of child-king could be consolidated, the commander-in-chief Kamalavardhana, with the purpose of seizing the throne for himself, came forward with a strong army. He fought the combined forces of the Ḍāmaras and the Ekāṅgas and routed them. The boy-king fled. But at this moment, the general made a mistake by not capturing the throne immediately. He left the issue to be determined by a council of Brāhmaṇas with the hope that they would select him. But his plans were upset when the assembly opined for Yaśaskara, a son of Prabhākaradeva, a former minister and councillor of queen Sugandhā. The rule of the Utpala dynasty thus came to an end (A.D. 939).[115]

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[111] *R. T., V,* 287-303.
[112] *R. T.,* V, 304-350.
[113] *R. T.,* V, 351-413.
[114] *R. T.,* V, 414-448.

Yaśaskara ruled for nine years. He appears to have taken strong measure to rule the valley as a result of which peace and order were restored. The royal officers were controlled to such an extent that formerly who had 'plundered everything' now came 'to look after cultivation'. It is said that foot soldiers found their end through him, which probably means that he took strong measures to suppress the Tantrins. Some stories of his judicial wisdom related by Kalhaṇa illustrate his skill in the interpretation of legal contracts.

Yaśaskara made several endowments including a *maṭha* (monastery) for students of the Āryadeśa coming to Kashmir for higher studies. Āryadeśa probably meant north India and it is evident that in the tenth century A.D. Kashmir maintained cultural links with other regions of India. It is alleged that in the latter part of his reign he fell a prey to avarice and amassed fortunes through illegal means. He is also discredited for mixing freely with the Ḍombas and other lower classes.

Once, when he fell seriously ill, Yaśaskara nominated Varṇaṭa, the son of his paternal grand uncle Rāmadeva as his heir. But the latter incurred his displeasure by foolish acts as a result of which the crown finally fell upon Saṁgrāmadeva, a minor son of Yaśaskara.[116]

Saṁgrāmadeva ruled for a few months only (A.D., 948-949. Parvagupta, the minister, was scheming for the throne since the days of Unmattāvanti. Now he set himself assiduously to the task. First he put his rivals out of the way and then, by a sudden coup, seized the royal power and killed the child-king.[117]

Though Parvagupta rose from lowly position, he displayed ability and energy in administering the country and enforced obedience even from his strong adversaries, the malevolent princes. Ekāṅgas, chiefs, ministers, officers and Tantrins. But he oppressed the people by fiscal exactions. After a short reign, Parvagupta died in A.D. 950.[118]

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[115] *R. T.*, V, 449-483.
[116] *R. T.*, VI, 2-114.
[117] *R. T.*, VI, 115-129.

Kṣemagupta succeeded his father. He was a weak ruler, licentious and profligate in his habits. His only notable act was the suppression of Saṁgrāma, a ring leader of the unruly Ḍāmaras.[119]

Kṣemagupta married Diddā, the daughter of Siṁharāja, king of Lohara and the daughter's daughter of the Śāhi king Bhīmapāla.[120] The marriage had important effects on the future history of Kashmir. It linked her up with Lohara and after Diddā's death, the Lohara family continued to exercise sway over both the territories. Diddā exercised great influence upon her husband, so much so that he came to be known as Diddākṣema.[121] There are coins with the legend *Di-Kṣemaguptade (va)* written upon them.[122] The reasons that led the monarch to associate his consort's name with his own are not known. But it is plain enough that this peculiar method adopted by him is in itself sufficient to account for the use of the nickname. Kṣemagupta died after a reign of eight years and the kingdom passed to his son Abhimanyu II (A.D. 958).[123]

Abhimanyu II was a minor at the time of his accession. So queen mother Diddā came to act as regent. The early years of her regency were full of troubles and dangers. The minister Phalguṇa had incurred her wrath by giving his daughter to Kṣemagupta. So she compelled him to retire. When she tried to rid herself in the same way of two grandees Mahiman and Paṭala, grandsons of Parvagupta, they raised a great rebellion. The defeat was averted by wise distribution of bribes among the followers of the rebel brothers and a conciliation was reached. Yaśodhara, a chief supporter of the rebels was raised by the queen to the position of commander-in-chief. But as he attained prominence by defeating Thakkana, a Śāhi prince, he aroused suspicion of the queen. When Diddā tried to send him to exile, Yaśodhara and his friends raised a rebellion. For a short while, the queen was put in a difficult position and her palace was besieged. But the support of the minister Naravāhana and the Ekāṅga forces ultimately saved her. She took a terrible vengeance by executing all the captured rebels and exterminated their families.[124]

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[118] *R .T.*, VI, 130-148.

[119] *R. T.*, VI, 150-175.

[120] *R. T.*, VI, 176.

[121] *R. T.*, VI, 177.

[122] Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, pl. IV. 11.

[123] *R. T.*, VI, 185-188.

The suppression of the rebellion was followed by a corresponding ascendancy of the minister Naravāhana. He was raised to the position of *Rājānaka* and the queen, for sometime, remained all attention to him. Then a treasurer succeeded in arousing suspicions in her mind against him. She came under the impression that the minister-general was trying to usurp the throne, ill-treated him and her insult ultimately drove her faithful adherent to commit suicide. Diddā's next attempt to kill Ḍāmara Saṁgrāma's sons resulted in a rebellion. To tackle the situation, the queen recalled Phalguṇa who probably brought a reconciliation between the two parties.

Abhimanyu died in the year A.D. 972. He was succeeded by his son Nandigupta. The death of her son appears to have softened the heart of Diddā for the time being. Kalhaṇa assigns to this period the foundation of a number of temples and other buildings intended to perpetuate her own memory and that of her deceased son. One of the buildings, a convent, is said to have been created by her as a resort for the people of Madhyadeśa, Lāṭa and Saudotra. Madhyadeśa seems to refer to midland India roughly corresponding to present Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Lāṭa is central and southern Gujarat but Saudotra cannot be placed.[125]

The devotional mood of the queen, aroused in her heart at the death of her son, did not last for more than a year. She killed Nandigupta by 'witchcraft'. Another grandson Tribhuvana (Gupta), who succeeded, was disposed of in the same manner A.D. 975. There remained now her last grandson Bhīmagupta. During the five years of his nominal rule Phalguṇa, who appears to have held a check upon the will of Diddā, died and the queen 'became with her open misdeeds and excesses a hundredfold terrifying like a personified tusker in rut who has torn off face covering.' Tuṅga, and a Khaśa from the hills of Parṇotsa, who had entered Kashmir and had secured a job in the royal service as bearer of despatches captivated her heart and openly became her paramour. When after a stay of four or five years in the royal palace the mind of the boy king Bhīmagupta began to mature, he perceived that the administration of the kingdom as well as the ways of his grandmother were shameful. So he tried for a reform. In this attempt, the prince became an object of suspicion to the fickle minded queen who sent him to prison and finally put him to death by various tortures.[126]

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[124] *R. T.*, VI, 188-259.

[125] *R. T.*, VI, 260-300.

After Bhīmagupta's death in A.D. 980, Diddā herself ascended the throne. She raised Tuṅga to the position of the prime-minister and started to rule as a thorough autocrat. Discontented factions tried to oust Tuṅga. Prince Vigraharāja of Lohara, son of Diddā's brother was invited to invade Kashmir from out-side while Brāhmaṇas of the important *agrahāras* were induced to enter upon a hunger strike against Tuṅga. But Diddā very cunningly won over the Brāhmaṇas by a distribution of bribes. In the absence of any support from within, Vigraharāja's plan of invasion failed and he was compelled to retreat. Another attempt was made by him subsequently to stir up rebellion among the Brāhmaṇas of Kashmir. But by that time Tuṅga had secured his position. He suppressed the rebellion with a strong hand. Tuṅga also proved his ability in distant campaigns. Pṛthvīpāla, the king of Rājapurī defied the authority of Kashmir which invited an invasion by the latter. Tuṅga was at the head of the expeditionary force and completely defeated Pṛthvīpāla and compelled him to agree to pay tribute. During the last years of Diddā, there was a Ḍāmara rising. Tuṅga 'annihilated the pest of the Ḍāmaras with the courage of a lion'. In the year 1003, Diddā died. But before her death she transmitted her crown to Saṁgrāmarāja, son of her brother Udayarāja, the ruler of Lohara. Thus the rule over Kashmir passed peacefully to a new dynasty.[127]

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[126] *R. T.*, VI, 310-330.

[127] *R. T.*, VI, 332-368.

Inspite of gross immorality and other defects of character, queen Diddā's claim of being one of the ablest sovereigns of the valley can hardly be denied. She came to the throne at a critical time. The greedy Brāhmaṇas, unscrupulous landholders, conspiring nobles and even adventurers outside the realm had all joined their hands time and again to oust her. By bribing some and cajoling others, by wise and discriminating distribution of wealth and favour, she drove the enemy, she won the opponents, she steered clear the ship of State through storms and stresses. The lust for power led her to undertake at times acts of great cruelty, but that does not indicate that she was lacking in humanity. When once she fell into grief at the death of her son, her repentance found expression in the numberless shrines and monasteries, she erected.

Saṁgrāmarāja appears to have been a prudent but weak ruler. During the early part of his reign Tuṅga's power was unchecked, inspite of a rebellion raised against him by the Brāhmaṇas and the temple *purohitas*. But growing age made the prime-minister deficient in intellect and his appointment of rapacious officials who cut off the maintenance allowances of the gods, cows, Brāhmaṇas, the orphans and the guests and oppressed the people by various fiscal exactions, made him unpopular.

While the priests and nobles were fighting in Kashmir and the royal officers teasing the citizens, a new drama was being enacted on the north-western fringes of India. Sultan Mahmud, the ruler of Ghazni, was carrying on operations against the kingdoms situated on the north-western parts of India and one after another, they were crumbling before his onslaught. The most formidable barrier towards the progress of the Ghaznavids was the kingdom of the Śāhis. Several attempts were made by the followers of Islam to conquer it. According to Muslim Chroniclers, during the early years of the eleventh century, Sultan Mahmud inflicted crushing defeats upon Hindu princes of Udabhāṇḍa.[128] Sometime about 1013 when the Śāhi ruler Trilocanapāla was reigning, an attack was made upon his

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[128] For a connected account of Sultan Mahmud's raids see H. C. Ray. *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 84 sq.

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territory by the Sultan. According to Nizamuddin and Firishta, Mahmud's first attack, on this occasion, was directed against the fort of Nandana situated among the Bālnāth hills[129] which fell after some resistance. Trilocanapāla then retired to Kashmir and most probably, at this stage, he sought assistance from Saṁgrāmarāja. In compliance with Śāhi request, Tuṅga was sent by the king of Kashmir at the head of a large army to help the Śāhi king against Hammīra, i.e., Mahmud of Ghazni. Blinded by his desire for battle, Tuṅga did not listen to the words of the Śāhi ruler who advised him to post his army on the scrap of a hill awaiting the approach of the enemy. He committed a blunder by crossing the river Tauṣī and giving open fight to the Turks. When attacked by the Turks, the army of Tuṅga fled from the field in utter confusion and with the remnant of his shattered forces he retreated to Kashmir.

On his return to the valley, Tuṅga was held in disgrace for his failure. The conspirators who had formerly raised a rebellion, now found an opportunity to oust him. The king who was weak and indolent by nature had disliked Tuṅga since the days of his accession. Instigated by secret letters from his brother Vigraharāja, he now began to look for an opportunity to remove him. Finally, when one day the unsuspected Tuṅga invited by the king attended his royal palace with a small number of followers, he was killed by the king's agents.[130]

Shortly after the death of Tuṅga, Sultan Mahmud made attempts to conquer the valley. Though the pages of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* are silent regarding the details of this attempted invasion, an echo of it seems to be preserved incidentally in a passage where Kalhaṇa speaks of the cowardly conduct of the sons of low-born Candramukha 'who on being sent by the king to fight with the Turuṣkas, like Tuṅga, turned, fled and again came back to their own country'. For a detailed description of the Muslim campaign, we shall have to turn to the Muslim historians. According to Nizamuddin, Mahmud did not rest content with the laurels he won on the banks of Tauṣī, but at once entered the secluded valley and 'carried away much booty in the shape of prisoners of war and gold and after converting many infidels to Islam, and laying the foundations of Islam, went back to Ghazni.'[131] Sultan's invasion of Kashmir was repeated in the year A.H. 406 i.e., in A.D. 1015. According to Firishta, 'Mahmud in the year A.H. 406 revisited Kashmir with his army in order to punish some rebellious chiefs, and to besiege some forts, which he had not reduced in his former expedition. The first of these forts was Lohkot, remarkable on account of its height and strength, and which entirely defeated the Sultan's utmost efforts; for having failed to reduce it during the summer, he was obliged, on the approach of winter, to abandon his enterprise and return to Ghazni. On his route, he was misled by his guides, and falling into extensive morasses, many of his troops perished, and he failed in all the enterprise of this campaign.'[132] Firishta's story receives confirmation from Nizamuddin's account.[133] In A.D. 1021 Mahmud again invaded Kashmir. But after laying siege to the fort of Lohkot for about a month, he found it impregnable and then he left the project and returned to Lahore.[134] Muslim attempt to conquer Kashmir in the early eleventh century thus ended in a failure.

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[129] Bālnāth hills apparently indicate Salt Range, See *Babur-nama* (Eng. tr. A. S. Beveridge), Vol. II, p. 452. Babur places the hills at a distance of 5 marches from the Indus.

[130] *R. T.*, VII, 47-99.

Harirāja succeeded his father Saṁgrāmarāja in A.D. 1028. But he died after a reign of twenty-two days. According to Kalhaṇa, Harirāja's mother Śrīlekhā, who lived the life of a wanton woman brought the end of her son by the use of witchcraft and after her son's death tried to seize the throne for herself. But Śrīlekhā's plan was spoiled by the Ekāṅga forces who raised her son Ananta to the throne. Taking advantage of the dissensions in the royal family, Vigraharāja, a brother of Saṁgrāmarāja and ruler of Lohara arrived at the capital of Kashmir with a large force to drive out Ananta. But the troops of Kashmir routed him with his followers.[135]

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[131] *Tabaquat-i-Akbari* (tr. B. Dey), Bibliotheca India, p. 8.

[132] *Tarikh-i-Firishta* (tr. Briggs), I, pp. 54, 55.

[133] *Tabaquat-i-Akbari* (tr. B. Dey), p. 9.

[134] *Tarikh-i-Firishta* (tr. Briggs), I, p. 65; *Tabaquat-i-Akbari* (tr. B. Dey), p. 13.

[135] *R. T.*, VII, 127-141.

The early years of Ananta's reign were marked by the growing influence of the Śāhi princes in the court who were now driven away from Und by the Muslim invaders and took shelter in the valley. One of these Śāhiputras, Rudrapāla, married the daughter of the Jālaṁdhara king Inducandra, while king Ananta was induced to marry Suryamatī, a younger daughter of the same king.[136]

A dangerous rising of the Ḍāmaras, headed by the rebel commander-in-chief Tribhuvana was successfully defeated by Ananta. An invasion of the Darad ruler Acalamaṅgala and seven *mleccha* kings allied with him was similarly defeated with the help of the Śāhi prince Rudrapāla.[137] The *mleccha* allies of the Darad king apparently denote the tribal leaders living on the frontier of Kashmir who had been probably converted to Islam by this time. King Ananta's victory over the Darads and their associates is also alluded to by Bilhaṇa in *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*. He, however, uses the term Śaka in place of *mleccha* which may indicate that the *mleccha* or converted Muslim princes were originally Śakas.[138]

When Rudrapāla and other Śāhi princes had died, Ananta came more and more under the influence of his queen Suryamatī. He was plunging headlong in debts due to his extravagant habits. His relief came when the queen took full charge of the royal affairs. Haladhara, a Vaiśya, rose to the position of prime-minister through her favour. He proved to be a successful administrator and secured for a time peace and prosperity for the valley.[139]

It seems that peace at home and a well-filled treasury induced Ananta to undertake some expeditions around the valley. In Campā he uprooted the *Rājā Sāla* and placed on the throne a new monarch.[140] Sāla seems to be identical with king Sālavāhanadeva mentioned in the Camba copper plate and the new king raised to the throne was probably the latter's son, Soma-

[136] *R. T.*, VII, 142-152.

[137] *R. T.*, VII, 154-175.

[138] *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* (ed. Buhler), XVIII, 33 sq.

[139] *R. T.*, VII, 179-217.

[140] *R. T.*, VII, 218.

varman. If Bilhaṇa is to be believed in addition to Campā, his supremacy was acknowledged by the hill states of Dārvābhisāra, Trigarta, and Bhartula.[141] But Ananta's campaigns lacked any definite plan and those against the hill states of Uraśā and Vallāpura ended in failure and ignominious retreat.[142]

At the suggestion of his queen, Ananta abdicated the throne in favour of his son Kalaśa in A.D. 1063. But soon he came to regret his step and the diplomatic minister Haladhara induced the old king to assume his authority once more. The royal authority came to be exercised as usual by Ananta, while Kalaśa remained king only by name. At this time, Kṣitirāja, the king of Lohara, resigned worldly affairs and as he disliked his own son, he bestowed his kingdom upon Utkarṣa, the second son of Kalaśa.[143] This succession was an event of great consequence destined to bring the hill state of Lohara and the kingdom of Kashmir under one rule, on Utkarṣa's succession to Kashmir.

For sometime, the arrangement of the joint rule went on smoothly. But as time passed Kalaśa grew more and more licentious in habits. A fracas in which the prince openly suffered disgrace brought a rupture in the relation of the father and the son. Ananta, who was going to imprison his son, was prevented by his queen who induced him to retire to the sacred *tīrtha* of Vijayeśvara, along with troops and royal treasures. For a time, Kalaśa felt some difficulty for the loss of wealth. But he soon recovered by organizing the administration in an effective manner. He then started to collect forces to attack the old king. Ananta, who was still powerful enough to deprive Kalaśa of the realm again allowed himself to be carried away by his queen who persuaded him not to take any action against Kalaśa. Ananta contented himself by summoning to Vijayeśvara Kalaśa's eldest son Harṣa whom he wanted to impose on the State.

After brief period of truce, Kalaśa resumed hostilities with his father. Realising that the chief strength of Ananta lay in his riches, he set fire to Vijayeśvara. The old king lost everything and when the son was on the point of sending him to exile, after a violent altercation with his wife, he committed suicide (A.D. 1081).[144]

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[141] *Vikramāṅkadeva carita* (ed. Bühler), XVIII, 35-38.

[142] *R. T.*, VII, 220-221.

[143] *R. T.*, VII, 240-257.

The picture of Kalaśa, which Kalhaṇa presents before us after the death of king Ananta stands in close contrast to his previous one. Henceforward he appears as an enlightened monarch, devoted solely in loving kindness and care to the people. He made reconciliation with Harṣa and brought him to Srīnagara. He also set himself assiduously in reorganising the financial administration in which he received considerable help from his able officers. Prosperity at home permitted Kalaśa to send expeditions in the neighbouring regions. Seizing the opportunity of a civil war in Rājapura between Saṁgrāmapāla and his uncle Madanapāla, he intervened in the affairs and established the suzerainty of Kashmir over the hill state. Uraśā was next invaded and a commander of the Kashmir army after crossing the river Kṛṣṇā (Kiṣangaṅgā) seized the Government, together with the heads of horses of its *rājā* named Abhaya. In the winter of the year 1087-88, there assembled in the court of Kalaśa several kings owing allegiance to their Kashmirian overlord. These were Kīrti, the chief of Baddhāpura, Āsaṭa, the *rājā* of Campā, Kalaśa, the ruler of Vallāpura, Saṁgrāmapāla, the chief of Rājapurī, Utkarṣa, the ruler of Lohara, Saṅgaṭa, the king of Uraśā, Gāmbhīrasīha, the chief of of Kānda and Uttamarāja, the ruler of Kāṣṭhavāṭa.[145] Of the hill-chiefs, here enumerated, Kīrti may be king Kīrtirāja of Nīlapura whose daughter was married by Kalaśa. Āsaṭa, *rājā* of Campā is the prince of the same name mentioned in the copper plates of Cambā, who executed king Somavarmadeva. Against Kalaśa, the king of Vallāpura, Ananta led an unsuccessful expedition, as noted before. Saṁgrāmapāla, the lord of Rājapurī was the son of Sahajapāla and the king of Kashmir reinstated Saṁgrāma to the throne of Rājapurī after defeating Madanapāla, his rival claimant. Utkarṣa was the second son of

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[144] *R. T.*, VII, 317-452.

[145] *R. T.*, VII, 575-590.

Kalaśa, the king of Kashmir. Saṅgaṭa, Gāmbhīrasīha and Uttamrāja cannot be identified.

Prince Harṣa could not pull on well long with his father and induced by some evil advice conspired to dethrone him. The conspiracy leaked out. Kalaśa attempted to obtain from his son a repudiation of the plot but failing that ordered his arrest. It is said by Kalhaṇa, that the conduct of his son had a telling effect on the character of Kalaśa who reverted to his old licentious life. Kalaśa died in 1089 but before his death passed the crown to his younger son Utkarṣa.[146]

Utkarṣa continued the policy of his father regarding Harṣa and kept him in a more guarded prison. But his general conduct alienated his followers and a plot was hatched against him by displeased princes like Vijayamalla and Jayarāja. With the help of the Ḍāmaras, they defeated Utkarṣa and besieged him at the royal palace. The object of the rebels was to release Harṣa. This could very well have been foiled if Utkarṣa had ordered his death, but he vacillated and afterwards released Harṣa to reach a reconciliation with the rebel party. As soon as Harṣa came out of confinement, he forcibly assumed the royal power and sent Utkarṣa into prison where the latter ended his life by his own hand. Utkarṣa died at the age of twentyfour after a reign of a few days only.[147]

Harṣa came to the throne in 1089. The early years of his rule was full of success. He adopted a wise policy in retaining many of the ministers, officials and servants of his father's time and by his kind disposition, won their devotion.[148] His court was veritably a centre of luxury and splendour. He introduced in the country many new fashions in dress and ornaments. His courtiers were gorgeously dressed and wore earrings and head-dresses which were so long used exclusively by the monarchs. Out of his love of Dākṣiṇātya, Harṣa introduced some fashions of that territory in his own land. Kalhaṇa says that Harṣa adopted even the Karṅāṭa coin types and the gold coins of the king with the elephant type amply corroborate

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[146] *R. T.*, VII, 617-729.

[147] *R. T.*, VII, 730-861.

[148] *R. T.*, VII, 886 sqq.

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the poet's statement. Himself a poet and an admirer of fine arts and literature, Harṣa was a *kalpavṛkṣa* in his munificence towards the artists and litterateurs of his age. Bilhaṇa, who left the valley during the reign of Kalaśa and lived in the court of the lord of Karṇāṭa, laments over the loss for his absence in the court of Harṣa.[149]

Successful in his home administration, Harṣa tried to assert his authority in some of the adjoining mountain territories. Saṁgrāmapāla of Rājapurī, at this time, for reasons not known to us, had turned hostile to Kashmir. Harṣa despatched his faithful officer Kandarpa at the head of a garrison to fight with Saṁgrāma. In the battle which ensued, Kandarpa defeated the lord of Rājapurī and forced him to pay tribute. But then, Harṣa, at the advice of some evil parasites banished this heroic general.[150]

Shortly after conspirators began to hatch up plots to oust Harṣa. General Vijayamalla, the brother of Harṣa, had raised a rebellion against him in the early part of his reign but receiving no support from the Kashmirian ministers or soldiers, he had to flee to Darad country, where he died in an avalanche crash. Another brother of the Kashmirian king, Jayarāja by name and a relative named Dhammaṭa who were desirous of the throne started secret intrigues to kill Harṣa. The plan was disclosed before it could be given final effect to, and Harṣa by an unique display of his diplomatic skill executed both the rebels. But the monarch did not rest there. He massacred a number of his near relatives apprehending similar treason on their part. Among these hapless victims was Ḍomba the eldest son of Utkarṣa.[151]

The money spent on personal luxuries as well as upon foreign expeditions impoverished the royal treasury. Urgent necessity for money at last turned the liberal king into a cruel oppressor. Kalhaṇa relates in detail the king's act of confiscation of temple-properties. It may be noted here that Harṣa not only annexed the treasures of the temple, but also appointed officers called *devotpāṭananāyaka* to desecrate temples and then to overthrow the divine images which could be sold at their metal value. These anti-religious acts of Harṣa earned for him the title of 'Turuṣka'. But the temple spoliation alone could not feed Harṣa's need for money. He also introduced new imposts and appointed special officers to raise taxes. Kalhaṇa says that the king, in order to 'extort money through all sorts of prefects, appointed.......even a prefect of night-soil'.[152]

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[149] *R. T.*, VII, 921-937.

[150] *R. T.*, VII, 967 sqq.

[151] *R. T.*, VII, 1013-67.

From this time onwards, Harṣa's career becomes a record of follies and misdeeds. Guided by evil counsellors he began to excel in all kinds of sins and crimes conceivable to man. He placed in his seraglio a large number of concubines but not satisfied with that committed various acts of incest with his near relatives.[153]

The conflicts in which Harṣa was engulfed about this time also ended in disaster. He led an expedition against Rājapuri but had to retreat owing to the treachery of his prefect of police, Sunna.[154] He next attempted to capture the fort of Dugdhaghāṭa from the Darads, but in the rainy night in which the siege was undertaken, he was seriously defeated at the hands of the enemies and had to return home with his followers.[155] To crown the misfortunes, a serious flood caused a famine in the valley in A.D. 1099 and that was followed by a plague which carried away a considerable part of the population.

A confusion followed these misfortunes in which even murders were freely committed on roads in open day light and daring burglars stole golden cups even from the king's apartment.[156]

The landed aristocracy of the valley, the Ḍāmaras, fully utilised the anarchical condition of the days. Lying secure in their own demesnes, they scoured the king's territory for plunder. Furious at their behaviour, Harṣa took serious steps to crush them.

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[152] *R. T.*, VII, 1081-1118.
[153] *R. T.*, VII, 1147 sq.
[154] *R. T.*, VII, 1150-1170.
[155] *R. T.*, VII, 1171 sqq.
[156] *R. T.*, VII, 1216 sqq.

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He carried a relentless persecution of the Ḍāmaras who at this time appear to have mostly belonged to the tribal division of the Lavaṇyas. When the Ḍāmaras of the Maḍavarājya were exterminated to a great extent, the king turned his attention upon Kramarājya, where, however, the Ḍāmaras gave some effective organized opposition.[157]

At this stage, Harṣa committed a grave blunder which ultimately cost his throne and life. In the expedition of Dugdhaghāṭa, two brothers and princes named Uccala and Sussala, descended from a side branch of the Lohara dynasty, had fought on Harṣa's side and had given evidence of uncommon courage and heroism. Harṣa suddenly began to suspect them as rival claimants to the throne and planned to murder them. Being aware of the evil intentions of the king, the princes fled but then joined by the Ḍāmaras and Khāśikas entered Kashmir at the head of a powerful army. In the battle which followed, Harṣa's officers betrayed him and the royal army was thoroughly crushed. The victorious army of Uccala and Sussala entered Śrīnagara and set fire to the royal palace. The palace was first burnt down and then looted by the wild mob. Harṣa's son Bhoja was murdered. The king himself left the city and took shelter in a beggar's hut, but he was hunted down and slain cruelty.[158]

Kalhaṇa gives an elaborate account of Harṣa's character. It appears that he was a learned person, a poet of some merit, a courageous soldier and a conscientious judge. But then his was a character composed of contradictory qualities like cruelty and kindness, authority and anarchy, liberality and greed and other apparently irreconcilable features. The excess with which all these qualities were displayed by the prince rightly leads some modern historian to find in his character 'the unmistakable indications of an unsound mind.'

The chief underlying cause of the 'unsound mind' of the king lay in his inability to grasp the deeper causes underlying the problems of the time and his failure to cope with the changed circumstances. By a liberal distribution of wealth, he won over the feudatories and the officers. But when he found them betraying him, he grew furious and his wrath found expression in inhuman cruel measures adopted towards them and to their families. He failed to appreciate that bribing was a very inactive measure to win the permanent allegiance of the subordinates, that the infidelity of his nobles lay deep in their ambition to hold and control the royal power which again was spurred by their great wealth and power; they were also incited by similar examples of preceding reigns. Harṣa took wild steps to crush the Ḍāmaras but never contemplated a change in the land tenure system which fostered their growth. He indulged in foreign expeditions when the country was facing bankruptcy, perhaps under the impression that newly conquered land would add to the wealth of the State but never realised the consequences of a failure. His method of collecting ready money by taxing the people and confiscating the temple property was equally unwise. He should have paid adequate attention to the improvement of methods and machineries of production which alone could yield the surplus wealth to meet the expensive budget of the State. His policy of raising money robbed the country of its reserved resources.

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[157] *R. T.*, VII, 1227-1242.
[158] *R. T.*, VII, 1248 sq.

Harṣa died in A.D. 1101, to be succeeded by the eldest of the rebel brothers, Uccala. Uccala's claim on the crown of the valley was not based upon the might of the sword alone. He was through Jassarāja, Guṅga and Malla, the fourth direct descendant of Kāntirāja, the brother of Diddā and uncle of king Saṁgrāmarāja of Kashmir.

The first task before Uccala was to disarm his troublesome allies, the Ḍāmaras, who appeared to be a constant source of peril to the throne. Uccala succeeded, for the time being, to curb the power of the wild barons and for this purpose he used the weapons of force as well as diplomacy. Janakacandra, a powerful Ḍāmara chief, was killed.[159] Kāliya and other Ḍāmaras of Maḍavarājya who showed tendencies of playing against the king were immediately crushed.[160] Sussala, the ambitious young brother of Uccala, who looked upon the power of the king with envy was also removed. He was sent in charge of the

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[159] *R. T.*, VIII, 32.

[160] *R. T.*, VIII, 41 sqq.

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kingdom of Lohara where he was allowed to rule in an independent capacity.[161]

Freed from troubles, king Uccala next turned his attention to the task of reorganizing the internal administration. He thoroughly overhauled the bureaucracy. The *kāyastha* officials of the valley who were found engrossed in corruption and dishonesty were punished or dismissed. By the strong steps taken against the dishonest official class, the king secured the attachment of the lower class people who constituted the bulk of the population. Like the enlightened despots of the eighteenth century Europe, Uccala considered himself as the first servant of the State and devoted his entire energy to the service of his subjects. In times of famine, he sold grains to his people at cheap prices from the royal granary and thus saved them from utter ruin. He administered justice in an even-handed manner and like Caliph Haroun al Rashid of Bagdad moved among his subjects incognito, hearing their grievances, and redressing them as far as practicable.[162]

But there was a dark side too in the king's character. Kalhaṇa relates that the monarch was jealous of noble bearing, courage, intelligence, power of endurance and youth in other persons. He was also haughty by nature and was in the habit of publicly discussing the shortcomings of the lineage, daily life, and personal appearance etc., of his followers.[163] The inevitable result of all these acts was the alienation of his dependants and in times of crisis the king was deprived of their natural fidelity and affection.

Sometime after Uccala had consolidated his position, his brother Sussala made an attack on him to deprive him of the kingdom. The attack, however, was repulsed with the help of the Ḍāmara leader Gargacandra and Sussala was forced to take his refuge in the land of Darads, from where, after many troubles he regained his own territory, the kingdom of Lohara.[164] A reconciliation between two brothers took place at the birth of Jayasiṃha, the son of Sussala in A.D. 1105-6.[165]

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[161] *R. T.*, VIII, 8.

[162] *R. T.*, VIII, 45 sqq.

[163] *R. T.*, VIII, 162 sqq.

[164] *R. T.*, VIII, 191-208.

A further attempt to dislodge Uccala was made by the Ḍāmara leader Bhīmadeva who, with the assistance of the Darad king, raised a person named Bhoja, son of Kalaśa, the former king of Kashmir, as a pretender to the throne. By a display of his unique diplomacy, Uccala divided the Darad ruler Jagaddala from the Ḍāmara rebels. The enemy thus weakened, was easily defeated and Bhoja was put to death. Bhoja's son Bhikṣācara at first remained in Uccala's custody. Afterwards he aroused suspicions in the king's mind. But before the boy could be put to death, he fled to the court of Paramāra king Naravarman and grew up there only to become a dangerous enemy of the valley later on.[166]

While Uccala was engaged in suppressing the rebellion of the Ḍāmaras and having the pretenders put out of the way, a conspiracy was silently gaining momentum, beside the throne. The engineers of the plot were the city prefect Chuḍḍa and his brother Raḍḍa who claimed descent from Yaśaskara.[167] They were supported by many officials who were alienated by the king. One night, when Uccala, unarmed as he was, was proceeding from his palace to the seraglio, he was attacked by the conspirators and killed (A.D. 1111).[168]

After Uccala's death, Raḍḍa assumed the title of Śankharāja and took the royal sceptre in his blood-stained hands.[169] But he was soon removed from his position by a powerful Ḍāmara chief, Gargacandra by name. Garga raised on the throne of Kashmir a step-brother of Uccala, Salhaṇa by name.[170] Salhaṇa had not the slightest capacity to rule. A worthless prince, he was merely a puppet in the hands of the Ḍāmara chief.[171] At the news of his brother's death, Sussala had made an attempt to seize the crown of the valley. But attacked by Ḍāmara Gargacandra, he was forced to flee to his own kingdom.[172] Sometime after, at the connivance of the king, the rival grandee attacked Gargacandra. They failed to do any harm to Garga. The latter was highly dissatisfied at the king's conduct. He invited Sussala to take charge of Kashmir. Sussala accepted the offer and entered Kashmir with his army. The people, who were tired of the imbecile Salhaṇa, at once received him with welcome. After a brief struggle, Salhaṇa was captured and Sussala ascended the throne (A.D. 1112).[173]

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[165] *R. T.*, VIII, 238-242.
[166] *R. T.*, VIII, 209 sqq.
[167] *R. T.*, VIII, 256 sqq.
[168] *R. T.*, VIII, 303 sqq.
[169] *R. T.*, VIII, 342.
[170] *R. T.*, VIII, 375-376.
[171] *R. T.*, VIII, 415 sqq.

The character of the new monarch was in many respects similar to that of his elder brother. He kept his sword unsheathed from the everpresent apprehension of treason. He systematically hunted and destroyed the family of the traitors against his brothers. Realizing the wickedness of the people, he bore himself with relentlessness. In his hot temper also, he resembled his elder brother and could not bear effrontery on the part of his dependants. But inspite of so much similarity, Sussala was unlike his elder brother, a soft-hearted king. Nor was he in the habit of using harsh words to honourable men. But a major defect of Sussala's character was his miserliness and greed for money, which hastened his downfall.

Sussala had difficulties from the very moment of his accession. Firstly, Ḍāmara Gargacandra refused to surrender Uccala's son to him and over this matter a quarrel arose between the two. The Ḍāmara chief was at last persuaded to submit but with much difficulty.[174] In the second place there was the problem of the deposed king Salhaṇa and Loṭhana. By confining both of them at the fort of Lohara, the king consolidated his position in that territory. [175] He also formed an alliance with the neighbouring kings of Kāliñjara and Rājapurī. Now Sussala was attacked by some Ḍāmaras of Devasarasa in which the king escaped death only by sheer luck. The next important incident was the attempt made by Sahasramaṅgala and other exiled nobles to overthrow him by invading his kingdom.[176]

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[172] *R. T.*, VIII, 403-406.

[173] *R. T.*, VIII, 450-480.

[174] *R. T.*, VIII, 502 sqq.

[175] *R. T.*, VIII, 519.

[176] *R. T.*, VIII, 534 sqq.

The king's vigilance, however, frustrated their plan. This was followed by the rise of a formidable enemy in the person of Bhikṣācara, the grandson of Harṣa. It has been mentioned already that the youth was brought up in the court of the Paramāra king Naravarman. Joined by the tribal hill-chiefs of Campā, Vartula, Vallāpura, Trigarta and Babbāpura, he planned to invade Kashmir.[177] But internal dissensions prevented Bhikṣācara from undertaking any active step for the time being.[178]

The next few years were utilised by Sussala in the reorganisation of the administrative machinery and especially of the finance. He appointed *kāyastha* Gauraka to the position of *sarvādhikāra* who, with the help of other *kāyastha* officials soon filled the royal treasury. But by extorting the people, the king and his officers became unpopular.[179]

The Ḍāmara chief Gargacandra had long been a source of trouble. Sometime about A.D. 1117, Sussala found a chance to suppress him. He skilfully played Mallakoṣṭha, who had long been an enemy of Garga against him. Exasperated after long struggle, Gargacandra surrendered himself to the king. He was imprisoned together with his family and was afterwards put to death (A.D. 1118).[180]

In the same year, Sussala started an expedition against Somapāla, chief of Rājapurī, who had invited Bhikṣācara at his court. The king of Kashmir kept Rājapurī under occupation continuously for seven months but failed to place there Somapāla's rival and brother Nāgapāla whose cause he had taken up.[181] The military expedition into Rājapurī involved huge expenditure as a result of which Sussala had to further increase the taxes of his kingdom. He dismissed Gauraka, whom he considered unsuitable for the purpose.[182]

The new taxation alienated his subjects while his policy of sending into the castle of Lohara masses of gold in the form of gold ingots irritated the nobility. In the year 1120, there was a rebellion of Ḍāmaras headed by Pṛthvīhara in east Kashmir. Within a short time, it was followed by the rising of the Ḍāmaras in other parts of the valley.[183] Sussala failed to check his opponents and when they threatened the capital, he retaliated by killing the Ḍāmaras, who were held as hostages.[184] Then Mallakoṣṭha brought the pretender Bhikṣācara into Kashmir which gave the revolt an unity of purpose and a well defined object. On the other hand, the foolish acts and rude conduct of Sussala exasperated his officers and the commander-in-chief Tilaka ultimately joined the enemy. The Ḍāmaras headed by Bhikṣācara, surrounded the capital. There were troubles within the capital too, for in this critical hour the Brāhmaṇa assemblies, holding fasts, tried to gain control over the king's affairs, while treachery was rampant among the royal troops. Sussala held his capital against heavy odds with great courage. But at last, a rebellion among the king's own army forced Sussala to leave the city. On the sixth of the dark half of Mārgaśiras, A.D. 1120, the king reached Lohara with a handful of followers. The forces which were behind in the capital, joined Bhikṣācara, who entered triumphant into Śrīnagara.[185]

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[177] *R. T.*, VIII, 537 sqq.
[178] *R. T.*, VIII, 549 sqq.
[179] *R. T.*, VIII, 560 sqq.
[180] *R. T.*, VIII, 581-601.
[181] *R. T.*, VIII, 621 sqq.
[182] *R. T.*, VIII, 637.

As Bhikṣācara did not know much about governing a State, the real power came to rest with his *sarvādhikāra* Bimba. Besides, the king soon developed a taste for girls and rich dishes. The quarrel among the leading Ḍāmaras further worsened the condition of the State.[186]

The political troubles had their effects on the country's economy and trade and business came to a standstill. At this time Bhikṣācara sent his *sarvādhikāra* at the head of an army to conquer Lohara. In this venture he received the assistance of the chief of Rājapurī, Somapāla and was also joined by a Turuṣka force under Sallāra Vismaya,[187] who, as some scholars suggest, was probably a Muslim chief from the lower Punjab hills.[188] But the combined force which met Sussala on the banks of the Vitolā, near Parṇotsa was totally routed.[189] Many of the defeated Kashmirian soldiers now joined Sussala who marched towards Śrīnagara to reconquer his kingdom. The rule of Bhikṣācara had been disliked by the people who wanted Sussala's revival. The Ḍāmara leaders Mallakoṣṭha and Janakacandra now joined him. The Brāhmaṇa corporation expressed their faith in Sussala. Under every thing favourable, Sussala returned back to Śrīnagara unopposed on Jyaiṣṭha 1121.[190] Bhikṣācara and Pṛthvīhara left the capital and took refuge with Somapāla, the chief of Rājapurī.[191]

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[183] *R. T.*, VIII, 661.

[184] *R. T.*, VIII, 676 sqq.

[185] *R. T.*, VIII, 697-841.

[186] *R. T.*, VIII, 849 sqq.

[187] *R. T.*, VIII, 884 sqq.

At the village Puṣyāṇanāḍa (modern Puṣiāna), at the southern foot of the Pīr Pantsāl, Bhikṣācara placed himself firmly and from that strategic position began to raid upon the valley incessantly with his Ḍāmara friends. Once Bhikṣācara and Pṛthvīhara proceeded to the Maḍavarājya and after defeating the army of the Kashmirian king at Vijayeśvara burnt the shrine of Viṣṇu Cakradhara.[192] But Bhikṣācara could not take full advantage of his success, for the Ḍāmaras, seeing his great prowess, grew jealous of him and became lukewarm in his cause.[193] Sussala did not hesitate to take advantage of the dissensions in Bhikṣācara's flank. He coerced a section of the Ḍāmaras into submission and forced the pretender to return back to Puṣyāṇanāḍa. The respite, which he got, Sussala utilised in freeing himself from the hands of those Kashmirian ministers and generals who had been traitors by sending them to imprisonment or exile and appointed foreigners in those places.[194]

In the early part of A.D. 1122, Bhikṣācara together with Pṛthvīhara and other associates entered Kashmir. In the struggles which followed Sussala initially obtained some success but then suffered heavily while crossing the Gambhīrā river on his way to retreat to Śrīnagara.[195] Bereft of the larger portion of his army, Sussala was again besieged in Śrīnagara. But with the help of twenty or thirty Rajputs, from Vallāpura, Campā and the adjoining hill regions, he held his own.[196] With the help of these mercenaries Sussala also gained a victory over the pretender near the Gopādri hill, south-east of the city (A.D. 1122).[197] The victory did not crush the power of the Ḍāmaras but gave Sussala once more the chance to take offensive.

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[188] H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, I, p. 165.
[189] *R. T.*, VIII, 920.
[190] *R. T.*, VIII, 954.
[191] *R. T.*, VIII, 959.
[192] *R. T.*, VIII, 968 sqq.
[193] *R. T.*, VIII, 1028, 1032 sq.
[194] *R. T.*, VIII, 1040 sqq.

In the spring of the following year, Bhikṣācara again succeeded in besieging Śrīnagara and ceaseless encounters followed round the capital. In one of these engagements, the Ḍāmaras set fire to the capital. The fire put to ashes a great part of the city and destroyed the reserved food crops of Śrīnagara. All the passages being locked by the Ḍāmaras, Sussala could not bring food stuff from the countryside and the capital underwent a terrible famine which killed a large number of people.[198]

To make matters worse for Sussala, his beloved queen Meghamañjarī died at this time. In a dejected state of mind Sussala decided to abdicate the throne and crowned his eldest son Jayasiṁha on the first of *Āṣāḍha,* 1123. But sometime after, Sussala changed his mind. He kept the reins of the government in his own hand and began to distrust his son whom he even placed under surveillance. Outwardly, Jayasiṁha's coronation, however, helped him to pacify the country. He succeeded in subduing the Ḍāmaras at Kalyāṇapura who had no unity of purpose and Bhikṣācara was forced to flee to Śamālā (modern Hamal district.[199]

In order to get rid of Bhikṣācara, Sussala now made a plan to kill him secretly. A plot was hatched with Utpala, an agent of Ḍāmara Ṭikka and it was decided that Utpala would kill Bhikṣācara at Ṭikka's seat and then Ṭikka.[200] But Utpala, who was

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[195] *R. T.*, VIII, 1063, sqq.

[196] *R. T.*, VIII, 1083-1086.

[197] *R. T.*, VIII, 1104 sqq.

[198] *R. T.*, VIII, 1169 sqq.

[199] *R. T.*. VIII, 1259 sqq.

[200] *R. T.*, VIII, 1245 sqq.

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Ṭikka's man, disclosed the matter to his master and formed conspiracy to kill the king in turn. Sussala used to hold secret conferences with Utpala. On one occasion, Utpala and his associates found the king unguarded and killed him brutally (A.D. 1128).[201]

The first few days of Jayasiṁha's reign were extremely critical. There was every possibility that the rebels would attack him. But Jayasiṁha was lucky that they did not take any offensive. Jayasiṁha, however, in order to have the support of the powerful men of the kingdom, including those who had once joined their hands with the enemy, declared a general amnesty. Ḍāmara Pañcacandra, son of Gargacandra came to his help.[202] Bhikṣācara in his attempt to enter the capital was repulsed by Sujji on the bank of the Gambhīrā.[203] This was followed by other minor successes of the royal army. Jayasiṁha's principal adviser Lakṣmaka won over most of the Ḍāmara chiefs by a judicious use of bribes. At last Bhikṣācara had to leave Kashmir.[204] As Jayasiṁha's treaty with Somapāla of Rājapurī, prevented him from having a refuge in Rājapurī, he stopped at his father-in-law's house on the banks of the Candrabhāgā.[205]

Jayasiṁha seems to have been a statesman of high calibre He realised that his position could be maintained only if the turbulent Ḍāmaras could be kept in check. The royal authority was not strong enough to suppress these feudal lords. So he adopted the strategy of playing one powerful Ḍāmara against another. Though this policy failed to suppress the Ḍāmaras permanently, it at least gave Jayasiṁha relief for the time being. The same policy of divide and rule, Jayasiṁha employed in case of his officers.

From the south, Bhikṣācara soon made an attempt to invade the valley.[206] Thanks to the diplomacy of Lakṣmaka and measures adopted by Sujji, the pretender was obliged to retire. Sujji, however, was soon exiled and then driven into the enemy's camp through the jealousy of Lakṣmaka.[207] Bhikṣācara, longing for the throne, once more made a bid. But the cunning diplomacy of Lakṣmaka succeeded in isolating him at the castle of Bāṇaśālā, where he was captured and killed (A.D. 1130).[208]

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[201] *R. T.*, VIII, 1287-1348.

[202] *R. T.*, VIII, 1349 sqq.

[203] *R. T.*, VIII, 1497 sqq.

[204] *R. T.*, VIII, 1525 sqq.

[205] *R. T.*, VIII, 1529-1534.

[206] *R. T.*, VIII, 1584 sqq.

Bhikṣācara, the arch enemy of his family was killed, but troubles were brewing for Jayasiṁha in other quarters. Loṭhana, the brother of ex-king Salhaṇa, fled from the jail with the help of some traitor royal officers and took possession of Lohara.[209] Jayasiṁha soon sent a large army under Lakṣmaka to recapture Lohara. The royal army blockaded the hill fortress but without any result. On the other hand, the summer fever of the neighbouring hilly regions carried away a large number of Jayasiṁha's men. Lakṣmaka was compelled to return, but on the way he was attacked by Sujji and Somapāla. The royal army was completely defeated and Lakṣmaka was taken prisoner.[210] Subsequently, Lakṣmaka was ransomed at a cost of thirty-six lakhs and resumed his former position as Jayasiṁha's chief minister.

For sometimes Jayasiṁha's diplomacy to recapture Lohara did not meet with any success. Loṭhana, with Sujji as his chief minister, succeeded in maintaining his position.[211] But then a plot in the Lohara court deprived Loṭhana of his crown and raised Mallārjuna, a son of Sussala and a half-brother of Jayasiṁha to the throne (A.D. 1131).[212] The new prince was weak, extravagant and profligate. Jayasiṁha sent an army against him and forced him to pay tribute.[213] Mallārjuna's position in Lohara was further worsened by constant attack of his uncle Loṭhana, who had secured the support of Ḍāmara Koṣṭheśvara. This Ḍāmara chief in fact became the master of the neighbouring regions of Lohara and made Mallārjuna's hold on the castle precarious. At this time by a masterful display of his diplomacy, Jayasiṁha won over Koṣṭheśvara. Sujji, whom the Kashmirian monarch had already received to his side, he sent to retake Lohara. Mallārjuna left the castle and fled to Rājapurī[214] from where he was ultimately captured in the year 1135. Soon after, Koṣṭheśvara too was secured and sent to prison. Sujji, who had recaptured Lohara did not also enjoy the king's favour for a long time. His growing discontentment led Jayasiṁha to kill him treacherously in A.D. 1133 together with his relatives and followers.[215]

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[207] *R. T.*, VIII, 1626 sqq.
[208] *R. T.*, VIII, 1702-75.
[209] *R. T.*, VIII, 1794 sqq.
[210] *R. T.*, VIII, 1865 sqq.
[211] *R. T.*, VIII, 1921 sqq.
[212] *R. T.*, VIII, 1941 sqq.
[213] *R. T.*, VIII, 1947 sqq.

The next few years of Jayasiṁha's reign were peaceful. During this period, the king restored many temples and *maṭhas* which were ruined in course of civil war. Numerous pious foundations were also made by ministers and others.[216] In foreign affairs, Kashmir seems to have maintained a friendly relation with other kingdoms at this time.[217]

The death of Yaśodhara, the king of the Darads and the consequent troubles which followed in that country after his death, gave Jayasiṁha an opportunity to extend his influence in that region.[218] But his efforts did not meet with any conspicuous success. On the other hand Viḍḍasīha, who had set himself as the ruler of the Darads stirred up a rising against the Kashmirian monarch. Encouraged by the Darads, Loṭhana appeared as a pretender for the throne in A.D. 1143. He was aided by the Ḍāmara lord Alaṁkāracakra, Bhoja, a son of Salhaṇa and Vigraharāja, a half-brother of Jayasiṁha. But shortly, the rebels were surrounded in the castle of Śirahśilā by Jayasiṁha's army and Alaṁkāracakra had to surrender Loṭhana and Vigraharāja in the royal hand (A.D. 1144).[219] Bhoja, however, soon managed to escape and appeared as a pretender for the throne. He obtained the help of the Darad ruler Viḍḍasīha and some Muslims of upper Indus valley. Some powerful Ḍāmaras like Trillaka and Catuṣka further joined

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[214] *R. T.*, VIII, 1989-2024.

[215] *R. T.*, VIII, 2029-2152.

[216] *R. T.*, VIII, 2400-2444.

[217] *R. T.*, VIII, 2453.

[218] *R. T.*, VIII, 2454 sqq.

[219] *R. T.*, VIII, 2641.

Bhoja.[220] The invading army of Bhoja, led by Rājavadhana, a discontented officer of Jayasiṁha, approached from the north, claiming the crown. About this time Pṛthvīhara led another Ḍāmara army from the south. With great difficulty Jayasiṁha averted this danger. His commander Rilhaṇa defeated Loṭhana in the south, while the strong stand taken by Ṣaṣṭhacandra on the north broke the morale of the combined Ḍāmara, Darad, *mleccha* and Turuṣka force who took to flight. But peace was not restored till A.D. 1145 when through the mediation of queen Kalhaṇikā Bhoja surrendered and the Ḍāmara rising collapsed.[221] Jayasiṁha seems to have enjoyed the few remaining years which are dealt in Kalhaṇa's work i.e., from A.D. 1145 to 1149-50 in peace. During this period he crowned his eldest son Gulhaṇa as the ruler of Lohara.[222] Kalhaṇa refers to the several pious foundations of this period made by the king. The king's example was followed by various religious foundations made by ministers and other members of the royal family.[223] According to Jonarāja, Jayasiṁha lived up to A.D. 1154-55. During the last five years of his reign he undertook successful expedition against a Muslim ruler (Yavana Turuṣka), who however, cannot be identified.[224]

Jonarāja has furnished us with an outline of the political history of the remaining period of the Hindu rule, which extended up to A.D. 1338. Paramānuka, the son of Jayasiṁha, succeeded his father. With the assistance of two officers Prayāga and Janaka, he filled up royal treasury. He had an uneventful reign. When he died in 1164-65, his son Vāntideva followed him (in Calcutta edition the name is written as Vārttideva). Vāntideva ruled for seven years.[225] With his death, the second Lohara dynasty came to its end.

The following king Vuppadeva (Vopyadeva according to Calcutta edition) was elected by the citizens in the absence of

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[220] *R. T.*, VIII, 2718.

[221] *R. T.*, VIII, 3096-3179.

[222] *R. T.*, VIII, 3301 sqq.

[223] *R. T.*, VIII, 3343 sqq.

[224] *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī* (ed. Peterson), 26, 27.

[225] *Ibid.* 49.

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a suitable heir. He was a stupid king and proved himself an idiot by adopting various foolish measures. After his death in *circa* A.D. 1180, his brother Jassaka wore the crown. He appears to have been a greater fool than his brother. At this time, taking advantage of the weakness of the royal authority, the Ḍāmara Lavanyas established themselves as real rulers of the land. King Jassaka was a mere puppet in their hands. In fact Jassaka did not wish to have on him the weight of the kingdom but he was retained on the throne by the Lavanyas only because that gave them a golden opportunity to exploit the land as they liked. During Jassaka's reign, two Brāhmaṇa brothers Kṣukṣa and Bhīma by name assumed great powers and refrained from capturing the crown only due to their fear of feudal lords. Jassaka ruled for eighteen years and ten days, that is, upto A.D. 1198 and the throne then passed to his son Jāgadeva.[226]

Jāgadeva was an enlightened despot, who tried to improve the bureaucracy. This naturally incited the wrath of the *kāyastha* officers who succeeded in driving the king out of the valley. Jāgadeva regained his throne with the help of his faithful minister Guṇākara-rāhula. Soon after, he was prisoned by Padma, the 'lord of the gate' and breathed his last after a reign of fourteen years six months and three days, i.e., sometime about 1212-13 of the christian era.[227]

Rājadeva, the son of Jāgadeva, fled to Kāṣṭhavāṭa after his father's death. But the enemies of Padma brought him back to the valley. A civil war followed, but when Rājadeva was besieged in the fort of Salhaṇa, Padma suddenly died at the hands of a caṇḍāla. Rājadeva was then anointed as the king of the valley by the Bhaṭṭas, who were probably the members of the Brāhmaṇa corporation. The royal authority, however, was seriously threatened by Lavanyas. One of them, Balādhyacandra, lord of Lohara, occupied half of Śrīnagara and the king failed to subjugate him. Rājadeva seems to have died in A.D. 1235.[228]

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[226] *Ibid.* 59-67.

[227] *Ibid.* 68-78.

[228] *Ibid.* 79-81.

The next king of Kashmir was Saṁgrāmadeva, son of Rājadeva. He was a powerful prince. He was determined to crush the power of the feudal lords. But the treachery of his brother Sūrya who was also in the post of *pratinidhi* frustrated his attempts. When the evil intentions of Sūrya were disclosed before the monarch, Sūrya fled from Śrīnagara and raised a rebellion against the king with the help of Ḍāmara Candra of Lohara and Dāmara Tuṅga of Śamālā. In the encounter which followed, Tuṅga was defeated and Candra was caught and killed. During this civil war the sons and relatives of Brāhmaṇa Kalhaṇa whom the king began to fear as snakes had become very powerful.[229] Saṁgrāma was anxious to retain his kingdom, but all his attempts failed and he was obliged to retire to the shelter of the peaceful lord of Rājapurī. When the king was in Rājapurī, total anarchy was let loose in the kingdom and the Ḍāmaras began to suck the very life-blood of the people. For how many years such an anarchy continued, we do not know. But Saṁgrāma at last succeeded in defeating his enemies and regained his throne. He, however, did not kill the sons of Kalhaṇa because they were Brāhmaṇas and was in turn killed by them in about A.D. 1252. Śaka, a learned poet, is said to have composed a poem with Saṁgrāma as its hero, which was, like the necklace, an ornament of the learned. But the work has not survived.[230]

Rāmadeva, the son and successor of Saṁgrāma executed the assassinators of his father. It appears that he was an able administrator and governed his kingdom in an effective manner with the help of Pṛthvīrāja. His queen Samudrā built a *maṭha* at Śrīnagara, on the banks of the Vitastā which was marked with her name, whereas the king repaired the Viṣṇu temple of Utpalapura. As the king had no issue, he adopted a Brāhmaṇa boy of Bhiṣyakapura as his son. Rāmadeva died in or about A.D. 1273.[231]

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[229] It is not unlikely that Kalhaṇa referred to here, is the same as the author of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

[230] *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī* (ed. Peterson), 92-108.

[231] *Ibid.* 109-117.

Lakṣmaṇadeva, the adopted son, who now became the king was a learned person, 'filled with the love of six branches of learning.' But he lacked the vigour and courage of a Kṣatriya and was defeated and killed by a Turuṣka i.e., a Turk Muhammadan named Kajjala in *c.* A.D. 1286.[232]

A period of anarchy seems to have followed Lakṣmaṇa's death. Out of this chaotic conditions appear two figures, Saṁgrāmacandra, the lord of Lohara and Siṁhadeva, whom Abul Fazal describes as the 'Chief of Labdar of Dakṣiṇapārā.'[233] Siṁhadeva declared himself king of Kashmir but so long as Saṁgrāma lived, his power was confined to the Ledari valley. It was only after the death of Saṁgrāmacandra, that Siṁhadeva was able to occupy the kingdom of Kashmir which at this time had shrunk to its former size.

Siṁhadeva made a large number of religious foundations. The early years of his reign seem to have been comparatively successful but gradually under the influence of evil company, he became devoid of his belief in God. An intrigue with his nurse's daughter ultimately resulted in the loss of his life. The event appears to have taken place sometime about A.D. 1301.[234]

After Siṁhadeva's death, his brother Suhadeva became king The new monarch was a powerful man and with the help of a person named Kāmasuha established his authority over the whole of Kashmir. Even such distant regions as the borders of Pañcagahvara i.e., Panjgabbar situated on the east of Rājapurī, came under his rule.[235] In the year 1313 a Muslim adventurer called Sahamera migrated to Kashmir along with his family, probably from the Punjab side. The Muslim immigrant was admitted in the king's service. A brave soldier, he was probably of much service to the king in extending his authority throughout the length and breadth of Kashmir.[236] The king's son Babruvāhana founded a town called Garbhapura and for the time being the valley seems to have been prosperous.

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[232] *Ibid.*, 118-122.

[233] *Ain-i-Akbarī* (tr. Jarret, first ed.), p. 378.

[234] *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī* (ed. Peterson), 123-137.

[235] *Ibid.*, 138-142.

[236] *Ibid.*, 143-146.

The latter part of Suhadeva's reign, however, was disturbed by two foreign invasions. The first of these was led by Duluca whom Jonarāja describes as the *Camupati* of the *Cakravartī* Karmasena.[237] Stein seems to be correct in his assumption that Duluca entered Kashmir by the Jo–ji–la pass.[238] Among the soldiers of Duluca Jonarāja mentions Mleccha, Turuṣka and Tājika troops.[239] It is probable that Duluca was a Turk Muhammadan. According to Abul Fazal, Dalju i.e., Duluca was the chief commander of the king Kāndāhār.[240]

Duluca had a large army with him which numbered sixty thousand according to Jonarāja. The king Suhadeva tried to satisfy Duluca by giving a subsidy and for this purpose imposed taxes on all castes. There were agitations against his cowardly conduct by some sections of the people and Brāhmaṇas protested against his policy by holding fast. None the less, the king collected money and tried to buy the invader off. But his policy of appeasement failed, for Duluca accepted the money, but still ravaged the country. He followed a policy of murder, plunder, arson and loot of which there are few parallels in history. At last when the winter came, afraid of the excessive cold, he left Kashmir by a good military road. He carried with him a large number of able-bodied men as slaves. Whatever prosperity Kashmir had enjoyed during the early years of Suhadeva's reign, was destroyed by Duluca's invasion. 'Kashmir became almost like a region before the creation, a vast field with a few men, without food and full of grass.'[241]

The invasion of Duluca was followed by a second invasion led by Bhauṭṭa Riñcana. In all probability he entered the valley by the same route through which Duluca came i.e., by the Jo–ji–la pass. If Jonarāja is to be believed one Rāmacandra, a relative of king Suhadeva gave a stiff opposition to Riñcana's army, but he was ultimately treacherously killed by the latter at the fort of Lohara. After Rāmacandra's death,

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[237] *Ibid.*, 141.

[238] Stein, *R. T.* (Eng. tr.), II. p. 408.

[239] *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī* (ed. Peterson), 170.

[240] *Ain-i-Akbari* (tr. Jarret, 2nd. ed.), p. 381.

[241] *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī*, 152-155.

Riñcana seized the royal power and married his wife (or as some say his daughter) Koṭādevī.

Riñcana retained the Muslim adventurer Sahamera in his service and with his help gradually established his own authority over the valley. By creating division among the Lavanyas, he succeeded in bringing these turbulent barons under his control. Abul Fazal says that through intimacy of association with Sahamera he accepted the religion of Islam. This is probably true as Jonarāja says that this Bhauṭṭa prince was willing to embrace Śaivism of the Hindus, but was refused of such favour as he happened to be an outcaste. Perhaps after this rejection by the Hindus, he embraced Islam.

The career of Riñcana abruptly came to a close in *c.* A.D. 1323 when one day, he was suddenly attacked by several conspirators and ultimately succumbed to his injuries.[242]

In the royal genealogy of Ladsakh, *La—dvags-rgyal—rabs,* the name of the fourteenth king appears as Rīṇ-Cen.[243] He is generally placed by scholars between A.D. 1320 and A.D. 1350. Now Riñcana, the name of the invader of Kashmir, is nothing but a Sanskrit transcription of the Tibetan word Riṇ-Cen. Jonarāja distinctly mentions the invader as Bhoṭṭa, i.e., Tibetan. His date falls between A.D. 1320—23. Hence it is extremely likely that the two names represent the one and the same person. It is true that Riṇ-Cen, as a king of Ladakh, does not agree with Jonarāja's description of him as a prince fleeing from his country as a result of his bloody vengeance on his father's murderers. Moreover, in Jonarāja's Chronicle, there is no indication that Riñcana entered Kashmir from Ladakh rather than from Baltistan or Purig or Zansker or Guge. Under these circumstances, a reasonable deduction would be that though Riñcana did not actually rule over Ladakh, the name was inserted by the compilers of the royal genealogy in order to glorify their own kings by showing that they ruled in Kashmir also. It is interesting to note in this connection that the very title *rGyal—bu* (king's son) which is attributed to Riṇ-

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[242] *Ibid.* 155 sq.

[243] L. Petech, *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh,* pp. 112, 113.

Cen in the *La–dvags–rgyal–rabs* is not suitable to a king, though it may fit perfectly a fugitive prince.

When Riñcana died, he left his son Haidara and queen Koṭādevī to the care of Sahamera. Sahamera did not crown the prince who was a minor, but invited and enthroned Udayanadeva, a descendant of the old Hindu dynasty who was living in distant Gandhāra.

The new king not only occupied the throne but also married Koṭādevī, the queen of Riñcana. He also had an heir by her. But Udayanadeva was a weak person. He kept himself engaged mostly in the performance of his religious duties and the queen Koṭādevī dominated him. Taking advantage of the impotence of the royal authority, the turbulent Lavanyas molested the king time and again.

It seems that Sahamera, from his very entry into valley, had an eye upon the throne. After Riñcana's death, he no doubt found an opportunity to capture the royal authority but probably did not consider himself powerful enough for the action. Now, when he found the royal authority weak, he followed a systematic policy for strengthening his position. By establishing matrimonial alliance with the lord of the gates and other nobles, he won them over. Many of the nobles were also brought to his side by wise distribution of subsidy while many were coerced into neutrality. He kept the king and the queen silent by threatening to raise Haidara on the throne.

In A.D. 1338, Udayana died. Queen Koṭādevī assumed the control of the kingdom and ascended the throne herself. She received the assistance of the Lavanyas and for the time being everything seemed to go in her favour.

But the triumph of Koṭādevī was temporary. Sahamera succeeded to oust and then to kill Bhaṭṭa Bhikṣaṇa, the Brāhmaṇa minister of Koṭādevī. The queen was in a position to bring the murderer before her and to inflict punishment over him but the counsels of her own men, who undoubtedly had been bribed by Sahamera, dissuaded her from taking action. The opportunity, thus allowed to slip away, never came again. Once, while the queen had been to Jayāpīḍapura, Sahamera seized the capital. Koṭādevī who was now besieged in the fort of Jayapura had to surrender on the explicit condition that she would share her bed and throne with Sahamera. After a day's married life she was imprisoned along with her two sons where they ultimately died and Sahamera ascended the throne under the title of Sultan Shamsuddin (A.D. 1338).[244]

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[244] *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī* (ed. Peterson), 255-352.

CHAPTER III

SOCIETY

CASTE SYSTEM

THERE ARE FEW sources which throw any considerable light on the type and character of the caste system, as it was in vogue in ancient Kashmir. Early works like the *Nīlamatapurāṇa,* the *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya,* and several of the works of the poet Kṣemendra mention the Brāhmaṇas distinctly as the uppermost caste of the valley, but they do not say much about the other existing social orders. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa, however, testifies to the existence of several low castes among the population, besides the Brāhmaṇas. These were the Niṣādas, the Kirātas, the Kaivartas, the Ḍombas, the Śvapākas and the Caṇḍālas. It may be argued that the *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* written much later on (i.e., in the 12th century A.D.) while relating the history of the former ages, depicts more or less the social picture of the contemporary time. But since the formation of a particular caste generally takes a long time, it may be presumed that the various types of castes mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* existed in Kashmir from a much earlier period.

The Brāhmanas were definitely the more priviledged and honoured caste in the country. The origin of the Brāhminism in the valley of Kashmir is unknown, but there is clear evidence to show that many of the noted Brāhmaṇa inhabitants of Kashmir, were descendants of the Brāhmaṇas of other parts of India.[1] Probably, there had been several large scale immigrations of the Brāhmaṇas from the plains of India into the valley of Kashmir from a remote period.[2] The descendants of these immigrants seem to have composed the bulk of the Brāhmaṇa population of Kashmir.

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[1] Abhinavagupta and Bilhaṇa's ancestors were Madhyadeśī Brāhmaṇas whereas the ancestors of Abhinanda, the author of the *Kādambari-kāthāsāra* hailed fron Gauḍa.

[2] The earliest inscriptional reference of the Brāhmaṇas occurs in the edict of Aśoka, where they have been mentioned as one of the most important classes among the population of the Maurya empire. Since the valley of

The occupations adopted by the Brāhmaṇas were varied; some of them were ministers and councillors of the state. Thus the Brāhmaṇa Mitraśarman was the *sāṁdhivigrahika* of king Lalitāditya.[3] Jayāpīḍa's minister was Devaśarman and his chief councillor was Dāmodoragupta.[4] Bhaṭṭa Phalguṇa was the minister of king Kṣemagupta and queen Diddā[5] and so on. The military career also was open to the Brāhmaṇas. Bhujaṅga, the son of a Brāhmaṇa *sāmanta* fought with Saṁgrāmarāja.[6] Kalhaṇa's father Caṇpaka was the *dvārapati* of Harṣa.[7] Ajjaka, a Brāhmaṇa minister of Salhaṇa died in the battlefield while fighting against Sussala.[8] Kalyāṇarāja was a Brāhmaṇa soldier well versed in military exercises.[9] But though many Brāhmaṇas adopted political and military vocations, the majority of them appears to have earned their livelihood by performing religious rites, by serving as priests, and by teaching the sacred texts. Besides the sacrificial fees, donations were frequently made to the Brāhmaṇas.[10] The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* prescribes gifts to Brāhmaṇas on almost every religious ceremony and considers such gifts to acquire religious merit for the donor. Kalhaṇa often mentions that *agrahāras* were donated by the king to the Brāhmaṇas.[11] The priests of the temples had other sources of income. They enjoyed the revenue of the villages which belonged to the temples.[12] Sometimes they sold flowers, incense, etc., to persons going to the temples for worship (*R.T.*, V, 168).

Kashmir was included within Aśoka's empire, it is not quite unlikely that the Brāhmaṇas from other parts of India had come to live in Kashmir by the time of Aśoka. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* refers to Brāhmaṇas who had come Kashmir from Āryadeśa (I, 341).

[3] *R. T.*, IV, 137.

[4] *R. T.*, IV, 469, 496.

[5] *R. T.*, VI, 168, 194, 284.

[6] *R. T.*, VII, 91.

[7] *R. T.*, VII, 1177.

[8] *R. T.*, VIII, 472.

[9] *R. T.*, VII, 1071.

[10] *R. T.*, IV, 5, 415, 673, V, 16-17, 120, VI, 89, VII, 295-97, etc.

[11] *R. T.*, I, 87-88, 96, 341, V, 403, 442, VI, 89, VII, 184.

[12] *R. T.*, II, 132, V, 48-52, 170.

Kṣemendra furnishes us with the interesting information that at times sweets, etc., which were offered to the god of the temple were resold to the public by priests.[13]

Among other castes, Niṣādas appear to be the aboriginal tribes. They occupied a very low position in the social life of the community. In Sanskrit, the term Niṣāda is generally applied to indicate persons who earn their livelihood by hunting and fishing. A passage from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* points out that the term included also the boatmen of the valley.[14]

The Kirātas, another low caste, according to Kalhaṇa, lived in the forest and destroyed wild animals by raising jungle-fires and constructing traps.[15] Their livelihood seems to have been very much similar to that of the Niṣādas, as referred to in ancient literature. But the relation between the Niṣādas of Kashmir and the Kirātas of that country is unknown. Racially, the Kirātas mentioned in Sanskrit literature belonged to the Tibeto-Burman group. Perhaps the Kirātas of Kashmir were neighbouring hill tribes of the Tibetan regions who were looked upon with much contempt in the society. Hiuen Tsang refers to a class of low-born people named *Ki-lo-to* who lived in Kashmir from a very early time and were opposed to the Bauddhas.[16] Scholars have failed to identify the *Ki-lo-to* people.[17] Phonetically the Chinese *Ki-lo-to* may be transcribed into Sanskrit as Kirāta. The Kirātas mentioned by Kalhaṇa may be identical with the *Ki-lo-to* people referred to by the Chinese pilgrim.

The Ḍombas have been frequently mentioned by Kalhaṇa as a caste of menials. Sometimes they are associated with Caṇḍālas.[18] What exactly was their profession, we do not know. In one passage of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* they are described as huntsmen.[19] Kalhaṇa makes mention of Ḍomba singers and from the stories recorded by him it seems that the Ḍombas were generally good musicians and earned their livelihood by singing and dancing.[20] Alberuni, while speaking of the contemporary castes of northern India, mentions the Ḍombas who were lute-players and singers.[21] Had they any connection with the Ḍombas of Kashmir? The Ḍombas have been sometimes mentioned by Kalhaṇa also as Śvapākas[22] which literally means 'dog-cooker'. It is interesting to note that in the 11th century A.D., Alberuni saw among the low castes of northern India a particular community called Badhatou who actually ate the flesh of dogs.[23] The Ḍombas were invariably hated as a despised low caste and were treated with much contempt.

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[13] *Samayamātṛkā*, II, 77.

[14] *R. T.*, V, 101.

[15] *R. T.*, VIII, 358.

[16] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), i. pp. 150, 156.

[17] Cunningham was of opinion that the *Ki-lo-to* of Hiuen Tsang stood for the Kīra people (*Ancient Geography*, p. 107, Chuckerverty Chatterjee ed.). Stein has pointed out quite reasonably that this identification is not tenable but he also fails to suggest any better identification (*R. T.*, Eng. tr. Vol. II, p. 430).

[18] *R. T.*, VI, 192.

Another low caste of valley were the Caṇḍālas. They seem to have been fierce and cruel fighters. Some of the Caṇḍālas served as royal body-guards or as watchmen.[24] Probably some were also freely engaged in the king's army, though we are not absolutely certain on the point.[25] Kalhaṇa says that on several occasions the Caṇḍālas were engaged as agents by selfish conspirators for assasinating their political rivals.[26] According to Alberuni, the Caṇḍālas of north India practised as a trade, killing of persons when they were sentenced to death by the judicial authority[27] and this goes to support the statement made by Kalhaṇa regarding the nature of livelihood pursued by the Caṇḍālas. Both Alberuni and Kalhaṇa point out that the Caṇḍālas were universally hated.[28]

Though the conception of the population as consisting of four traditional castes was not altogether unknown[29], there was no such caste as Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra in early Kashmir. In other parts of India there were various intermediary castes between the Brāhmaṇas on the one hand and the lower castes on the other. Curiously enough, so far as we can ascertain, such intermediate castes did never exist in the valley.

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[19] *R. T.*, VI, 182.

[20] *R. T.*, V, 354-396.

[21] Alberuni, *India* (tr. Sachau), i, p. 102.

[22] *R. T.*, V, 390-94, 405, 407, 413, 415.

[23] *India* (tr. Sachau), i, p. 102.

[24] *R. T.*, IV, 516, VII, 309.

[25] *R. T.*, IV, 475, 476.

[26] *R. T.*, VIII, 304, 325, 1103.

[27] *India* (tr. Sachau), i. p. 102.

[28] *India* (tr. Sachau), i, pp. 101-2; *R. T.*, V, 77, VI, 79, 192.

Classes of people

The people of ancient Kashmir, as we have already seen, were divided into several castes mainly based upon racial and religious factors. From the socio-economic standpoint, they could be also grouped into various classes, according to the professions adopted by them.

The economic structure of the ancient Kashmirian society was undoubtedly built upon the principle of private ownership of wealth. But the persons who were responsible for the production of wealth were not alone to enjoy it, there were people who shared it more or less and this depended upon the system of the distribution of wealth. The three principal methods of production were agriculture, industry and trade. But though the tillers of the soil produced crops, the duty of proper distribution rested upon the royal authority or feudal aristocrats, who were owners of the lands, whereas the industry and the trade were in the hands of the merchants. Of course, the State had always a hand in the system of the distribution of wealth, but in ancient Kashmir, the State's interference in private enterprise or property was very little.

Naturally, based on the three principal methods of production, three distinct classes of people with several subdivisions of their own evolved. But there were other classes who neither took any direct part in the production of wealth nor did anything towards its distribution, but who served the society in such various occupational capacities as the military, the clerical, the cultural, the menial, etc. It should not be presumed that all these classes with their sub-divisions emerged at the same time; their growth must have been gradual and complex with the rapid expansion of the race.

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[29] *Nīlamata* (ed. De Vreese), verse 924; *R. T.*, VII, 207, 1665, VIII, 3031, 3063-69, 3077, 3230.

Our knowledge regarding the occupational classes who comprised the society is indeed very meagre; there is not a single source which may be utilized for tracing their history to a period prior to the 7th century A.D., a date from which, thanks to Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa, the account of at least the principal classes of people, can be followed with tolerable accuracy.

Connected with land, was the class of people called Ḍāmara, who, as noted in the chapter on political history, played an important role in the history of early Kashmir. The exact meaning of the term Ḍāmara is not known. Kṣemendra, Kalhaṇa, Jonarāja and Śrīvara no doubt frequently refer to the term but never try to explain its meaning. Wilson opined that the Ḍāmaras were a fierce tribe inhabiting the mountains to the north of Kashmir,[30] whereas in St. Petersburg dictionary,[31] their original etymological meaning was given as 'riotous, rebel'. The term, as used in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* shows that the Ḍāmaras were not necessarily a tribe inhabiting the mountains north of Kashmir, neither were they always riotous. In fact, they appear to be territorial lords or feudal landowners.

Kalhaṇa's first reference to the Ḍāmaras occurs in the fourth book of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* where among the curious political maxims set forth by Lalitāditya, it is said that his successors should not leave with the cultivators of the land more than what is necessary for their bare sustenance and the tillage of their fields. Because, 'if they should keep more wealth, they would become in a single year very formidable Ḍāmaras, and strong enough to neglect the commands of the king'.[32] It is quite clear from this passage that agriculturist villagers, after the acquisition of considerable lands, were transformed into powerful Ḍāmaras.

In spite of Lalitāditya's warning, the growth and development of rural economy and the weakness of the royal authority gradually led to the rise of the Ḍāmaras, who became a very powerful element in the State. During the reign of Avantivarman, one of these Ḍāmaras, Dhanva, is said to have usurped the villages endowed to the temple of Bhūteśvara. This man, who owed his predominance to the patronage of the minister Śūra, flatly neglected his summons. At last, when he appeared before the minister, he 'made the earth shake with the tramp of his host of foot soldiers and did not bend his back'.[33]

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[30] Wilson, *Essay,* p. 51 and p. 70.

[31] *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, Vol. III, p. 125.

[32] *R. T.*, IV, 348.

About the middle of the 10th century A.D., the Ḍāmaras became so powerful that they began to interfere in questions of royal succession. King Cakravarman, when driven away by the Tantrins, took shelter in the house of Ḍāmara Saṁgrāma and with the help of Saṁgrāma and other Ḍāmaras succeeded in recovering his throne. But afterwards, when Cakravarman alienated the Ḍāmaras, he was ultimately murdered by these turbulent feudal chiefs.[34]

In the latter part of the fifth book as well as in the sixth book of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* the mention of the Ḍāmaras is comparatively few. But at the same time Kalhaṇa testifies that kings and queens like Unmattāvantī and Diddā had to take recourse to coercive measures for suppressing the Ḍāmaras[35] which clearly proves the increasing influence of the Ḍāmaras in those periods.

With the accession of the Lohara house, the Ḍāmaras appear in their fullest power. From now onwards, they interfered in all important political affairs of the State. A king could remain upon the throne if the Ḍāmaras so wished. The aspirants to the throne were eager to have their support, whereas the monarch in power had to keep them always engaged lest they should grow more powerful. In the internecine conflict between king Ananta and his son Kalaśa and between Utkarṣa and Harṣa, the Ḍāmaras took the side of one or the other and the final issue of the conflict depended mostly on their support.[36] Ananta, Kalaśa and Harṣa, particularly the last named monarch, tried their utmost to curb the powers of these feudal barons by sending armies against them as well as by other stratagems.[37] But every attempt failed. In fact, the measures adopted by Harṣa, instead of diminishing the powers of the Ḍāmaras, further alienated them. It was with the help of Ḍāmaras, that Uccala and Sussala drove out Harṣa and occupied the throne.

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[33] *R. T.*, V, 51-60.

[34] *R. T.*, V, 306-08, 326-28, 405-10.

[35] *R. T.*, V, 447, VI, 354.

[36] *R. T.*, VII, 154, 167, 357-58, 765.

By the 12th century A.D., the Ḍāmaras had become very powerful. They had enormous wealth, a large army, and strongholds in many important places of the valley.[38] In fact they had 'usurped all power in the land except in the immediate vicinity of the capital and the places occupied by the royal troops'. One of the Ḍāmara chieftains, Gargacandra became a king-maker in the true sense of the term. In the conflict between the pretender Bhikṣācara on the one hand and Sussala and Jayasiṁha on the other, that party alone could expect a victory which had powerful Ḍāmaras at its back. 'The fotified residences of the Ḍāmaras frequently mentioned by the term *upaveśana,* were, like the castles of mediaeval feudal lords, centres of territorial divisions in which, though they may have often comprised not more than a couple of villages, the king's authority could assert itself only by armed force at times of unrest. This condition of things continued for centuries after Kalhaṇa's time, far into the Muhammadan period, and its recollection still lingers in the tradition of the agricultural population of Kashmir'.[39]

With the increase of wealth and political power, the Ḍāmaras obtained a higher status in the society. Though Kalhaṇa looks upon them with contempt as 'robbers—resembling goblins' or 'more like cultivators though they carry arms', the marriage of the Ḍāmara girls with members of the royal family or of Rajput princesses with Ḍāmara chiefs[40] clearly indicate their elevated social position. In Kṣemendra's *Samayamātṛkā,* a Ḍāmara named Samarasiṁha appears as a wealthy, respectable

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[37] *R. T.*, VII, 223, 266, 576, 579, 914, 1227-45.

[38] *R. T.*, VII, 1254, VIII, 648, 929, 1124, 1153, 2505.

[39] *R. T.* (Eng. tr. Stein), Vol. I, pp. 123-24.

[40] *R. T.*, VIII, 458-59, 1444, 1607, 2337, 2953.

[41] *Samayamātṛkā* (ed. Durgaprasad), II, 21 sqq.

The system of succession among the Ḍāmaras seems to have been hereditary. When a feudal lord died, his landed estates passed to his heir.[42] But apart from direct inheritance, the status of a Ḍāmara could also be achieved with the acquisition of lands and riches by other methods. A person named Jayyaka, the son of a householder, who had amassed fortune from revenue of land and selling victuals to far off regions, is said to have raised himself gradually, to the position of Ḍāmara (*Kramāḍ ḍāmaratām agāt).*[43]

The relation of a Ḍāmara with the king on the one hand and cultivating tenants on the other, cannot be traced clearly from the context of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī.* Some of the Ḍāmaras are said to have obtained revenue from their land, apparently from their tenants.[44] But land revenue, though it was the principal one, was not the only source of their income. There were enterprising Ḍāmaras who accumulated wealth by trade and commerce.[45]

The Ḍāmaras did not belong to any particular tribe. Some of the Ḍāmaras have been called Lavanyas[46] and from this some scholars have presumed that all the Ḍāmaras belonged to a tribe living on the mountain north of Kashmir.[47] But the Ḍāmaras were distributed all over Kashmir, mostly on the fertile areas like Nīlāśva, Holaḍā, Śamālā etc.[48] and not on the mountains north of Kashmir only. Moreover, in the first six books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* the term Lavanya has never been applied to any Ḍāmara. It is thus evident that the two terms Lavanya and Ḍāmara are not synonymous, though it is seen that a large section of the Lavanya people attained the position of Ḍāmara during the reign of Harṣa and afterwards. The origin of Lavanya tribe cannot be traced. Did they come originally from Lavaṇa *parvata,* contiguous to the valley and ultimately settled in Kashmir?

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[42] *R. T.*, VII, 1172-73.

[43] *R. T.*, VII, 494.

[44] *R. T.*, VII, 495.

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] *R. T.*, VII, 1171, 1228-33, 1237, 1254, VIII, 627, 910, 1127, 2009-12.

[47] Wilson, *Essay*, pp. 51, 70 sqq.

[48] *R. T.*, VII, 1022, 1631, VIII, 424, 591, 733, 1430, 3115.

The word Ḍāmara is not found in the first three books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī.* The term occurs for the first time in the fourth book and not very frequently upto the sixth book. But it is abundantly employed in books seven and eight. Whether the Ḍāmaras originated in the reign of Lalitāditya or existed even in an early period, cannot be answered satisfactorily, so far as our information goes at present. But the paucity of the term Ḍāmara in the earlier books and its very frequent presence in the later sections of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* most probably indicate that the class of feudal barons called Ḍāmaras came into existence not much earlier than the 8th century A.D. Their power and influence, which gradually increased, were not very great up to the 10th century A.D. But later on they became a very powerful class of nobility, a potent factor, always to be reckoned with.

What led to the rise and growth of the Ḍāmaras? It is sometimes said that the weakness of the royal authority and the constant war of succession between the rival claimants to the throne were generally responsible for the rise and growth of these unruly people.[49] No doubt, the internecine conflicts for succession to the throne offered a golden opportunity to the Ḍāmaras to increase and exert their power. But that alone can not explain their spectacular rise. Powerful rulers like Avantivarman and Diddā tried to suppress this unruly element in their kingdom when it had not yet gathered considerable strength. Others after them, like Ananta, Kalaśa and Harṣa employed full energy to root out these turbulent barons, but none met with success. Not that the royal authority was weak, but the economic structure of the society supported the existence of the Ḍāmara class and gave a strong impetus to their growth. Kashmir was a commercial centre during the reign of the Kuṣāṇas. When the overland trade routes had been opened through Central Asia, she probably served as an important trade emporium. But the commercial activities of the valley ebbed with the fall of the Kuṣāṇas and the rise of the Hūṇas ultimately closed the overland trade routes. Being a landlocked territory, henceforth Kashmir had to engage her whole attention solely on agriculture. This greater importance attached to agriculture coupled with the existence of a particular land tenure system, in which the cultivator was a tenant to his feudal lords, seems to have served as the basis of an economic system in which the rise of a landed aristocracy was inevitable. Whatever little trade was carried on with the western neighbours after the Hūṇa invasion had subsided, again came to an end with the rise of the Islam. Both Ou-kong and Alberuni testify to the closing of some of the existing trade routes.[50] With trade and commerce further curtailed, land became the principal source for wealth. Increase of the population and scarcity of culturable lands in the valley brought more and more pressure upon the existing agricultural lands. As there was increase in the population, and consequently less chance of their absorption in trade and commerce, the surplus people had to be employed in the cultivation of the soil. Land was thus sure to yield high revenue and those, who did own them, became ultimately wealthy formidable Ḍāmaras.

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[49] *Proc. Indian History Congress,* 1946, pp. 191-92.

Agriculture was adopted as the principal means of livelihood by the bulk of the people. Unfortunately, nothing is known regarding the exact condition of this cultivating class. Did they own lands? If they had no land, did they cultivate the lands of their feudal overlords. And if they did, what remuneration did the cultivator receive in exchange of his labour? Besides the cultivable lands under the Ḍāmaras, there were other agricultural fields in the country, the revenue from which was collected by the royal officers, the Kāyasthas. What was again the relation between the royal authority and these cultivating people?

Most of these questions cannot be satisfactorily answered. Some sections of the cultivating class were probably tenants of the Ḍāmaras. Kalhaṇa says that some of the Ḍāmaras amassed huge fortune from the revenue of their lands.[51] This could not have been possible unless they had leased out their lands to tenants. Possibly there were also agricultural labourers other than the tenants, who worked in the estates of the Ḍāmaras in some sort of wage system. Generally, all lands of Kashmir except those held by the Ḍāmaras and those donated by the king to some person or organization, were king's property. The cultivators who tilled these fields, had certain share of the harvest. But the major portion of the produced crops was taken by the king as the tax and revenue.[52]

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[50] Stein, *Notes on Ou-kong's account of Kashmir*, p. 24; Alberuni, *India* (tr. Sachau), i, p. 206.

[51] *R. T.*, VII, 495.

The agriculturists or cultivators were most hard pressed of all sections of the people. Though they produced the bulk of the national wealth, they had little share in the produce. They were constantly exploited by the Ḍāmaras on the one hand and the Kāyastha officers of the king on the other. Kṣemendra vividly describes how the Kāyasthas made fortunes during autumn when the harvest was reaped from the field and when the cultivators had to pay periodical taxes to the king.[53] He is also eloquent on the unfair means adopted by the Kāyasthas for filling up their personal purses and compares them to fish catchers who came to devour rustic fishes.[54] Some of the kings were so oppressive that they took the whole harvest of the field, including the cultivator's share for three consecutive years.[55] While the courtiers ate fried meat and drank delightful light wine, scented with flowers and deliciously cooled, the cultivators of the villages had to take rice or dry barley in husks, and a wild growing vegetable of bitter taste called *utpalaśāka*.[56] The oppression of the landholders and bureaucracy reduced the agriculturists to such straits that they had scarcely anything left as the price of the hard toil. Kalhaṇa frankly confesses that these oppressions exasperated them so much that whenever there were internal conflicts in the country, they left their peaceful pursuit and took up the sword eager for rebellion.[57]

Although agriculture formed the principal feature of the economy, a number of crafts and industries had developed at an early period. The different classes of people engaged in various industries included weavers, jewellers, black-smiths, sculptors, potters, leather tanners etc. (for an account of these industrial classes, see chapter under industry). Regarding the nature and organization of industrial labour nothing is known. Unlike some other provinces of eastern India, the workers in various industries of ancient Kashmir do not seem to have had corporate guilds of their own.

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[52] *R. T.*, IV, 628.

[53] *Samayamātṛkā*, I, 49.

[54] *Narmamālā*, I, 97-127.

[55] *R. T.*, IV, 628.

[56] *R. T.*, V, 49, VIII, 1864, 1866-67.

[57] *R. T.*, VI, 9, VIII, 2518.

The antiquity of the foreign trade of Kashmir goes down as early as the Kuṣāṇa period, though it is quite possible that it started even in an earlier period. A prosperous trade would naturally give rise to a wealthy merchant class. About the early history of this class, prior to the 7th century A.D., no information is forthcoming. In about the middle of the 7th century A.D., however, if Kalhaṇa is to be believed, the valley was full of merchants.[58] Some of them were extremely rich and owned palaces which far excelled the royal palace in comforts and decorations.[59] The Śresṭhis and Vaṇikas also appear as rich and luxurious people in Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya*.[60] The ascendancy of the merchants, in the period ranging from the 7th century A.D. to the 9th century A.D., is perhaps not without significance. It was a period when Kashmir had conquered her surrounding hilly states and had carried her arms far into the plains of northern India and perhaps also in the Central Asian regions. These conquests might have created fresh markets for Kashmirian goods in far off regions and seem to have strengthened her commercial ties with contemporary powers. This was probably reflected in the increasing wealth and luxury of the merchant class of the time.

From the foregoing statement, it should not, however, be surmised that after the 9th century A.D. the merchants as a class were extinct in the society or even that they were reduced to insignificance. There are reasons to believe that with the decrease of commercial activities from the 10th century onwards, the importance of the merchants as the most wealthy and naturally the most powerful element of the State started to diminish

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[58] *R. T.*, IV, 11.

[59] *R. T.*, IV, 15-16.

[60] *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya* (R. A. S. B. ed.), 68.

From the 10th century A.D. onwards, the merchants are generally mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* as not carrying on trade and commerce with distant territories but mainly engaged in monetary transactions. And in these monetary transactions, the merchants made themselves notorious by adopting dishonest method. Such remarks of Kalhaṇa as 'the merchants are deceitful by nature', 'a merchant in a law suit relating to the embezzlement of a deposit is more to be dreaded than a tiger', 'the merchants who have embezzled deposits show themselves ever eager to listen to the recital of sacred texts'—bespeak the greed and hypocrisy of the merchant class of this period.[61]

The dishonesty that had grown rampant among the merchants of this period was perhaps not without reason. Trade and commerce had almost stopped. The sphere of income had consequently narrowed down. Banking had come to be the only means with the help of which the merchant could make some money. But a clean banking business could never be so profitable as trade and commerce. Hence came the adoption of fraud and dishonesty and deceitful measures, the easy way of money-making. Kalhaṇa's Chronicle testifies that from the end of the 9th century, A.D. the Ḍāmaras had begun to take a predominating position in the society. That the Ḍāmaras had also ousted the merchant class from the field of trade and commerce becomes evident when we find that some of the Ḍāmaras had engaged themselves in trade and were amassing fortunes by selling victuals to far off regions.[62]

Besides the persons who were engaged in agriculture, industry and trade and were thus directly connected with the production of wealth, there were other classes, who served the society in various useful ways. Among these were included the teachers[63] astrologers,[64] physicians,[65] priests,[66] barbers,[67] artisans,[68] car-

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[61] *R. T.*, VI, 23, VII. 124-36, 708.

[62] *R. T.*, VII, 495.

[63] *R. T.*, V, 469, VI, 13, VII, 706-10; *Narmamālā*, II, 100.

[64] *R. T.*, VI, 13, VII, 82-91, 295-97; *Narmamālā*, II, 100-116.

[65] *R. T.*, IV, 216, VI, 13; *Narmamālā*, II, 68-81; *Samayamātṛkā*, II, 71.

[66] *R. T.*, II, 132, V, 465-66, VII, 13, VIII, 901-939.

[67] *R. T.*, VII, 203; *Deśopadeśa*, VI, 29; *Samayamātṛkā*, 1, 8, 35.

[68] *R. T.*, VIII, 727.

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ters,[69] workers of water wheels, hand mills etc.,[70] labourers,[71] fishermen,[72] herdsmen of cows and buffaloes,[73] soldiers and many others who followed such professions. Detailed evidence is not forthcoming regarding the position and organization of these different classes. It may, however, be presumed that even in each of these occupational classes, there were divisions, sub-divisions and gradations, according to wealth, learning and status of each in the society.

In addition to the various classes mentioned above there was yet another important class, the officers in the king's service. With their help the king carried on the State machinery and gave effect to his administrative policy. There were different gradations among the officials also.

Roughly speaking the officers could be subdivided into two principal classes, the nobility and the bureaucracy.

The nobility consisted of the highest administrative and military officers of the State such as *sarvādhikāra* or prime minister, *sachiva* or minister, *mandaleśa* or governor, *kampaneśa* or commander-in-chief. The Śāhis and other princes of the adjoining hill-states sometimes served under the king and they too were included in the nobility. Besides the highest officials, poets and litterateurs of high repute who flourished in the king's court and received huge salaries[74] seem to have belonged to this upper class. Most of the members of the nobility, as big officers of the State, used to draw large salaries. Some of them also owned estates.

The term Kāyastha has been used by the early writers of Kashmir as a general name applicable to all the members of the bureaucracy. The Kāyastha included such specific officers as *gṛhakṛtyādhipati* or *gṛhakṛtyamahattama* or simply *mahattama, paripālaka, mārgeśa* or *mārgapati, gañjādhipa, nagarādhipa, śaulkika, niyogi, adhikaraṇalekhaka, aśvaghāsakāyastha, grāmakāyastha* and *diviras* of *nagara, grāma, gañja* etc., in fact all sorts of officials from the highest administrative to the lowest clerical, whose principal duty, besides carrying on the general administration of State, consisted in the collection of revenue and taxes.

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[69] *R. T.*, VIII, 727.

[70] *R. T.*, VII, 1232.

[71] *R. T.*, V, 441.

[72] *R. T.*, VII, 405-06, VIII, 2132; *Deśopadeśa*, VI, 29.

[73] *R. T.*, VI, 318-20.

[74] *R. T.*, V, 204.

The term Kāyastha in ancient Kashmir did not denote any particular caste. It was purely a term applied to the officials in the king's service. This is evident from Kalhaṇa's assertion that the Brāhmaṇas were Kāyasthas.[75] The career of Kāyastha seems to have been thrown open to all the members of the State. Even persons holding other hereditary occupations, sometimes lowly ones like that of *ārāmika* (gardener) could enter into the rank of the Kāyastha.[76] A Kāyastha holding a lower office could be promoted into a higher rank. Kṣemendra says that it was the ambition of every Kāyastha to become the *gṛhakṛtyamahattama*, the highest office that could be held by a Kāyastha.[77]

The Kāyasthas received their salary from the royal treasury. Probably they were used to get monthly payments.[78] There are reasons to believe that besides the usual salary which they received for their service to the State, they usurped parts of the revenue which were collected by them for deposit in the royal treasury. Thus, while describing the condition of the valley under Jayāpīḍa's reign, Kalhaṇa says that the Kāyasthas carried off all property of the subjects, delivering to the king only the smallest fraction of what they realized.[79] Kṣemendra also speaks in the same strain.[80]

Both Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa are eloquent about the Kāyastha's greed for money, inhuman exactive measures and dishonest habits. Comparing them with the officials of other contemporary kingdoms, one cannot but feel surprised why the officials of ancient Kashmir were so oppressive and were so eager

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[75] *R. T.*, VIII, 2383.

[76] *R. T.*, VII, 39-41.

[77] *Narmamālā*, I, 32 ff.

[78] *R. T.*, V, 175.

[79] *R. T.*, IV, 629.

[80] In his *Narmamālā* Kṣemendra vividly describes how the Kāyasthas steal away the State property and property of the temples with a view of making money and also how they increase their private wealth by extorting from the villagers articles and cash money.

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for amassing private wealth. But the reasons perhaps are not far to seek. The government in early Kashmir was generally unstable. There were frequent wars of succession. The change of a ruler inevitably brought a change in the home policy of the government. Favourites of the new king were posted in the highest offices of the State and there were thorough overhaulings of the different administrative departments. Many Kāyasthas were dismissed from their jobs, whereas new favourites were appointed in their places. This instability of their position, forced the Kāyasthas to adopt means by which they could amass sufficient private wealth within the span of their tenure of office, so that they could be secure for the rest of their life on dismissal.

There is no mention of the Kāyasthas in the first three books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. They appear as a distinct class for the first time, in the fourth book. As time passes by, the power and prestige of the Kāyastha increase and from the fourth book onwards, in each book of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* we meet with new designations of the Kāyastha officers. The *Narmamālā* of Kṣemendra, written during Ananta's reign, contains a very detailed account of the Kāyasthas and mentions a large number of posts which were held by them. The gradual growing number of the Kāyasthas, in course of time, as evidenced from Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa, clearly show the increasing interference of the State in private landed properties. In the earlier times, when there were plenty of lands and considerably less population, the State did not find it necessary to exercise so much control over the lands, as lands would not have yielded much revenue at that time. But the swelling population, in course of time, brought a greater pressure upon the land. All cultivable lands had been distributed among the people and these were more and more intensively cultivated. Naturally, they were to yield more revenue to the king than in former times. Hence the kings appointed greater number of officers for supervision of these landed properties and for collecting revenue and taxes. Moreover, after the fall of the Karkoṭas, the trade and commerce with foreign countries practically came to a close. So the State had to depend for its income principally on the revenue of the land. So closer supervision of landed estate was required and measures were adopted for exacting as much revenue from them as possible. That also accounts for the increased number of Kāyasthas.

Among the different types of officers who comprised the Kāyastha class, except the *śaulkika,* we have not met with a single name, who had anything to do with the trade and commerce of the valley. Nearly all other officials were engaged in collecting revenue for supervising the revenue administration. This also tends to show the growing importance of the land in the economic life of the post-Karkoṭa period.

Position of women

Regarding the position of women in early Kashmir, we learn that the first part of a woman's life was spent in her father's house when liberal education was imparted to her. The curriculum of studies in the 9th century A.D. included the sexual sciences of Vātsyāyana, Dattaka, Viṭaputra and Rājaputra, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, Viśākhila's treatise on art, Dantila's work on music, *vṛkṣāyurveda,* painting, needlework, woodwork, metal work, clay modelling, cookery, and practical training in instrumental music, singing, and dancing.[81] Bilhaṇa extols the women of Kashmir for their learning which allowed them to speak fluently both Sanskrit and Prākṛt.[82] Perhaps the ladies of the royal family were given a bit of administrative training. The great success with which Kashmirian queens like Sugandhā and Diddā governed their dominions, naturally presupposes that they were put in the way to efficiency by some previous instruction and practice. Queen Kalhanika went at the head of an emissary to bring rapproachment between Bhoja and Jayasiṁha. Women of a lesser status too appear to take leading part in the political activities of the State of which we have several examples in the pages of Kalhaṇa.[83]

Regarding the proper age of marriage of a woman, no positive evidence is forthcoming. A perusal of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* generally leaves the impression that pre-puberty marriage probably was not in vogue in ancient Kashmir. A story related by Kṣemendra in the *Deśopadeśa* may indicate that girls were married at a mature age.[84]

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[81] *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya,* 122, 123, 124.

[82] *Vikramāṅkadevacarita,* XVIII, 6.

[83] *R. T.,* VIII, 1820, 1823, 1968, 3096 ff.

The family life, at least of the rich, was polygamous. The kings had seraglio full of queens and concubines and their example was followed by the aristocrats. Polyandry was quite unknown except perhaps among some aboriginal hill-tribes. The widow was expected to live a pure life, devoid of all luxury. The use of ornament or gorgeous dress was forbidden to her.[85]

The custom of burning of *satī* was in vogue in Kashmir from an early time. In the stories of the *Kathāsaritsāgara,* which was composed in the valley in *c.* 11th century A.D., the custom appears to be quite common. About the historical cases of widows burning themselves at the death of their husbands, we have a number of instances in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle. After the death of their husband Śaṁkaravarman, Surendravatī and two other queens cremated themselves along with him.[86] When Yaśaskara died, his wife Trailokyadevī followed her husband into the funeral pyre.[87] Śāhi princess Bimbā, after the death of the son of Tuṅga, who happened to be her husband, entered the fire as a *satī*.[88] Queen *Suryamatī* burnt herself in company with her dead husband Ananta.[89] Mammanikā and six other queens accompanied king Kalaśa into death.[90] So did Kumudalekhā for her Malla.[91] When the body of the deceased was available, the widow burnt herself along with dead husband; when it was not available, she ascended a separate pyre. Thus Jayamatī burnt herself separately a few days after Uccala's body was cremated.[92] The system of *satī* was not confined to the royal family alone. Mallā, the wife of Bhogasena, the chief-justice of

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[84] *Deśopadeśa*, VII.

[85] *R. T.*, VIII, 1969.

[86] *R. T.*, V, 226.

[87] *R. T.*, VI, 107.

[88] *R. T.*, VII, 103.

[89] *R. T.*, VII, 477-479.

[90] *R. T.*, VII, 724.

[91] *R. T.*, VII, 1486.

[92] *R. T.*, VIII, 368.

Uccala, followed her husband to death.[93] Kalhaṇa testifies that the wife of Ḍāmara Koṣṭhaka entered fire at the news of her husband's imprisonment and thus became a *satī*.[94] Sometimes, courtesans accompanied their masters into fire. Jayamatī, a harlot of king Kalaśa[95] and Sahajā, a concubine of king Utkarṣa[96], entered the pyre of their masters. Dāmodaragupta relates about prostitutes performing the *satī* and immolating themselves. (*Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya,* verses 557-569). The custom of *satī* was so deep-rooted in the valley, that even mothers and sisters and other near relatives burnt themselves along with their beloved deceased. Gajjā cremated herself with her son Ānanda,[97] Vallabhā with her brother-in-law Malla[98] and the sister of Dilhabhaṭṭāraka with her brother.[99]

Literary evidence amply testify to the gross immorality and laxity of character prevailing among certain classes of women. Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* delineates in niceties of details the sensual excesses of the ladies of the palace and the court. The generally low standard of morality among certain classes of women has been described by Kṣemendra in his *Deśopadeśa* and *Narmamālā*. Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya* and Kṣemendra's *Samayamātṛkā* and *Deśopadeśa* point out that prostitution was popular in the society. It is not necessary here to discuss in detail the immoral atmosphere of early Kashmir as depicted in these works. But the low standard of morality prevailing among certain classes gave rise to and fostered the growth of certain evil practices in the society. One of these, the institution of *devadāsī,* deserves attention.

The custom of dedicating girls to the temples for singing and dancing before the gods seems to have been a very early practice in India. It existed in Kashmir from a very early period. Kalhaṇa mentions that king Jalauka gave hundred ladies of his seraglio who were well versed in dancing and singing to serve in the temple of Jyeṣṭharudra.[100] While coming into the historical period, we also meet with a number of instances of girls serving in the temples. A passage from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* tends to show that the system of dedicating girls to temples was prevalent during the reign of Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya II.[101] Lalitāditya, in course of his adventurous journey saw two dancing girls belonging to a temple.[102] During the reign of Kalaśa two dancing girls Kayyā and Sahajā were attached to a temple.[103] Kalhaṇa himself was an eye-witness of superannuated dancing women in the temples of the valley.[104] It appears that it was incumbent by tradition on girls hailing from particular families to take up the profession of *devadāsī* (*R. T.*, IV, 269 ff.)

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[93] *R. T.*, VIII, 445.
[94] *R. T.*, VIII, 2334.
[95] *R. T.*, VII, 724.
[96] *R. T.*, VII, 858.
[97] *R. T.*, VII, 1380.
[98] *R. T.*, VII, 1486.
[99] *R. T.*, VIII, 448.

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* makes it quite clear that girls who served in the temples could be taken away for personal enjoyment by the king. Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya II fell in love with a married woman named Narendraprabhā. He was very eager to have the lady, but afraid of slander could not take her to his seraglio. Then the merchant Noṇa, the husband of Narendraprabhā, requested the king to adopt her as his queen but finding him reluctant finally said, 'If even after this declaration you do not accept her, then you should take her from a temple as a dancing girl put there by me on account of her skill in dancing.'[105] Sahajā, a dancing girl attached to a temple, was taken by prince Utkarṣa as a concubine into the royal harem.[106] It is thus evident that temple-girls, like common harlots, could be taken away by the king.

The bad immoral practices underlying the system of *devadāsī* must have received some opposition from the honest and pure-minded section of the people. Alberuni refers to such an opposition in north-west parts of India during his time but then says that this was of no avail since the kings and nobles supported the custom.[107]

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[100] *R. T.*, I, 151.
[101] *R. T.*, IV, 36.
[102] *R. T.*, IV, 269.
[103] *R. T.*, VII, 857-58.
[104] *R. T.*, VIII, 707.
[105] *R. T.*, IV, 36.
[106] *R. T.*, VII, 858.

Women in Kashmir, probably had some proprietary rights and independent legal status. A passage from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* tends to show that after the death of her husband, probably the widow became heir to his immovable properties and not his sons.[108] Another passage appears to point out that women were owners of landed estates.[109] Kṣemendra, in one of his works, also refers to an incident in which a prostitute becomes mistress of a rich man and on latter's death because of living like wife, inherits his property. The property became legally hers through the decision of the crown.[110]

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[107] Alberuni, *India* (tr. Sachau), ii, p. 157.

[108] *R. T.*, VII, 272.

[109] *R. T.*, VIII, 3115.

[110] *Samayamātṛkā*, II.

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Our sources of information for the early economic conditions of Kashmir are extremely meagre. Inscriptions play a leading role in tracing out the early economic life of the plains of India. But in the secluded valley of Kashmir, there is hardly anything to relate a sound story of the past. For the economic conditions of early Kashmir, we have got to depend on literary sources, indigenous as well as foreign, which, while dealing with other affairs, also incidentally tell us something about its early economic status. Among the native sources, Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is an important work. Though, mainly speaking, the book treats with history of the ruling families of the valley, from the earliest times up to the 12th century A.D., it often supplies us with many useful informations about the agriculture, industry and trade of the land and various problems connected with them. Interesting sidelights on the early economic history have been also thrown by some of the works of the poet Kṣemendra (11th century A.D.), specially by his *Narmamālā*, *Samayamātṛkā* and *Deśopadeśa*. Of the foreign accounts, those of Hiuen Tsang (7th century A.D.), Ou-kong (8th century A.D.) and Alberuni (11th century A.D.) may be utilized for gleaning some important details bearing on the economic condition of the people of early Kashmir.

Agriculture

Kashmir was primarily a land of villages where the bulk of the population naturally took to agriculture as their principal means of livelihood. Kalhaṇa tells us that the villagers were wholly absorbed by agriculture.[1]

Among the agricultural products, paddy seems to have been cultivated extensively from an early period as it was the staple food crop. *Dhānya* has been frequently mentioned in the *Nīlamatapurāṇas* as a major food of the people which was also offered in worship to gods. It is also quite clear from the pages of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that *dhānya* or rice was the staple produce of the valley, the scarcity of which often resulted in disastrous famines. According to the Venetian traveller Marco Polo (13th century A.D.) rice was the principal food of the people of Kashmir.[2] The seeds of rice were probably sown during the month of *Caitra*.[3] By the month of *Bhādrapada* the fields were covered with ripe autumnal rice-crop[4] and the harvest was reaped in the next month after which a ceremony of new crops (*navānna*) was performed.[5] The method adopted for husking rice appears to have been the same as it is in modern times. Before removing the outer husk, the rice had to be dried, a reference to which seems to be contained in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in the poet's description of a lady watching the rice, left outside the courtyard to dry in the sun.[6] There is reference of husking rice in Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanīmata* (verse 871) and Kalhaṇa mentions about rice corn being grinded in hand mills (*R. T.*, VII, 1576). Lands had to be ploughed properly before the sowing of seeds and oxen were employed for tillage of fields.[7]

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[1] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VI, 9.

Of the other food crops cultivated, mention may be made of *yava*, i.e. barley and pulses. The *yava*, according to the evidence furnished by the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*, ripened at the end of *Jyaiṣṭha*.[8] The pulses consisted of several varieties such as *cana*, *kulattha*, *masura* and *muga*.[9]

Hiuen Tsang visited Kashmir in the 7th century A.D. and declared that the country 'was a good agricultural one and produced abundant fruits and flowers'. The pear (*li*), the wild plum *(nai)*, the peach *(t'au)*, the apricot *(hang* or *mui)* and the grape *(po-tau)* were the principal fruits noticed by the pilgrim.[10]

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[2] Yule, *Travels of Marco Polo*, Vol. I, p. 166.

[3] *Nīlamatapurāṇa* (ed. De Vreese), 529-541.

[4] *R. T.*, II, 18, V, 270, VIII, 770, 795.

[5] *Nīlamata* (ed. De Vreese), 748-754, R.T., VIII, 795.

[6] *R. T.*, I, 246.

[7] *R. T.*, IV, 347.

[8] *Nīlamata* (ed. De Vreese), 696-697.

[9] *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya* (R. A. S. B. ed.), 228; *Narmamālā* (ed. M. Kaul), I, 124.

Drākṣā or grape seems to have been particularly cultivated. While singing of his homeland the poet Bilhaṇa describes the grapes growing abundantly in the valley.[11] Kalhaṇa says that the grapes, which were scarce even in heaven, were common in Kashmir.[12]

Another important agricultural product was the saffron or *kuṁkuma* *(croeus sativus)* which was extensively cultivated. The name *yuh-chin-hsiang* which has been identified by Watters as saffron occurs among the products of Kashmir specified by Hiuen Tsang.[13] In the *Nīlamatapurāna* we often find references of *kuṁkuma*, used in the service of worship offered to gods. Bilhaṇa testifies to the natural growth of the saffron in the valley,[14] a fact that is also corroborated by Kalhaṇa's evidence.[15] The saffron flowers blossomed in autumn and were once used to adorn the necks of oxen at the autumnal festival.[16]

Irrigation

The paddy which was the staple food of the population generally grew on the fertile lands adjoining to the river Vitastā. Due to the lack of rain and proper system of irrigation it could not be cultivated in other regions. The produce, which was never sufficient, could feed the entire population only with great difficulty. Up to the middle of the 9th century A.D., the price of a *khāri* (177 lbs.) of rice was 200 *dīnāras* even in times of great abundance.[17]

Sometimes when the snow melted, the great Vitastā rose to the top of the banks and overflowed the arable lands around. Heavy summer rains also often caused disastrous floods and immense damage to the crops.

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[10] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), Vol. I, p. 88.

[11] *Drākṣāmanyaḥ sarasasarayū puṇḍrakacchedapāṇduṁ*, *Vikram*, XVIII, 72.

[12] *R. T.*, I, 42.

[13] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 262.

[14] *Eko bhāgaḥ prakṛti subhagaṁ knṁkumaṁ yasya sute*, *Vikram.*, XVIII. 72.

[15] *R. T.*, I, 42.

[16] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 263.

[17] *R. T.*, V, 116.

The floods and the famines which followed as a consequence, were constant dangers in old time. The cost of a *khāri* of rice rose as high as 1050 *dīnāras* during the rule of the later feeble Karkoṭa kings when the country was overtaken by disastrous floods.[18] In A.D., 917 when the whole autumn rice-crop was destroyed by a flood, the *khāri* was sold for a thousand *dīnāras*.[19] In A.D., 1099 when Harṣa was the king of Kashmir, many villages were flooded by an inundation and 500 *dīnāras* had to be paid for a single *khāri* of rice.[20]

Attempts were made to protect the cultivable lands from the disasters of floods from a very early time. A king called Dāmodara is said by Kalhaṇa to have built long stone-lined dykes in order to guard against inundations.[21] The minister of king Bālāditya erected an embankment.[22] The constructions of embankments were meant to protect the cultivable lands from floods whereas the surplus water which was thus obtained had the chance of being passed into several channels to irrigate other fields. An attempt to this direction was made by king Lalitāditya who arranged for conducting the waters of the Vitastā at Cakradhara (mod. Tsakadar) and distributed it to various villages. On account of the high plateaus around Cakradhara, the lands enclosed between Tsakadar and Vijabror could not be irrigated by means of ordinary canals and Lalitāditya had to take recourse to the construction of a series of water-wheels (*ambhaḥpratāraṇa*).[23]

The drainage operations of Lalitāditya made the country productive to a certain extent.[24] But the work of irrigation started by the great monarch was neglected by his incompetent successors when serious floods visited the valley (*R.T.*, V, 70).

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[18] *R. T.*, V, 70-71.

[19] *R. T.*, V, 271.

[20] *R. T.*, VII, 1219-20.

[21] *R. T.*, I, 159.

[22] *R. T.*, III, 483?

[23] *R. T.*, IV, 191.

[24] *R. T.*, V, 69.

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An attempt was made by Suyya, the irrigation minister of king Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56–883) to regulate the waters of the Vitastā and to drain the whole valley. Near Yakṣadara (mod. Dyargul) large rocks which had rolled down from the mountains lining both river banks obstructed the Vitastā. Suyya dragged out the rocks from the river and the level of the river was lowered. Next a stone dam was constructed across the bed of the river for seven days when the river bed was cleared at the bottom and stone walls were erected against further fall of rocks. The dam was then removed and the river flowed with great rapidity through its newly cleared passage.

Wherever inundation breaches were known to occur during disastrous floods, new beds were constructed for the Vitastā. Formerly the Vitastā and the Sindhu met at a place between the village of Trigām and the Paraspor plateau, now they came to meet at a junction opposite to Shādipūr. By changing the course of the Vitastā from the north of Trigām to the south of it, Suyya reclaimed the marshes south of the Volur lake. The Volur lake was dammed and the new river course now carried its waters to that part of the Volur lake which by its depth and well-defined boundaries was naturally designed as a great reservoir to receive the surplus waters of the dangerous floods. On the land reclaimed, new villages were established. Suyya, then decided for each village the extent and distribution of the watercourse on a permanent basis and by using for irrigation the Anūlā and other streams enriched all regions by prosperous irrigated fields that suited their splendid and bounteous crops.[25]

The endeavours of Suyya met with unique success. We have already noted on the evidence of Kalhaṇa, that up to the middle of the 9th century A.D., the price of a *khāri* of rice, even in times of great abundance was 200 *dīnāras*. As a result of Suyya's operations, the *khāri of* rice came to be bought for 36 *dīnāras* only.[26]

Suyya's example to irrigate the unfertile plateaux of Kashmir was probably followed by others. An inscription discovered at Hatun, in the Punial tract up the Gilgit river records that Makarasiṃha, a feudatory of the Śāhi kings of Gilgit, cut a canal (*kulyā*), and brought water to a land which was a waste before (*aṭavī*) (*J. R. A. S.*, 1944, pp. 5-14). It is likely that similar projects were undertaken in Kāshmir proper also.

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[25] For a detailed account of the irrigation work of Suyya, see *R. T.*, V, 85-113.

[26] *R. T.*, V, 116-117.

The irrigation scheme of Suyya or of any other person, however, could not permanently save the country from the clutches of famine, serious recurrences of which took place at least during the reigns of Pārtha and Harṣa.[27] With the growth of population, there must have been an increasing pressure on the total produce of the valley. The high plateaux could not be cultivated. The cultivable lands being limited the food-grains which grew from them were also of a limited quantity. In normal times the restricted quantity of food-crops might have been just enough to meet the requirement of the entire population. But if any disaster, whether natural or man-made, deprived the country from a portion of its limited food supply, famines were the invariable result.

Industry

Though the majority of the inhabitants of early Kashmir were engaged in agriculture, a considerable number of the populace took up various industries and crafts as their vocations. The most notable of these were textiles, particularly of woollen, jewellery, smithery, leather-work, stone-work, wood-work and pottery.

Very fine cloth must have been produced in the valley from a remote period. In one of the tiles of Harwan, there appears a lady, wearing transparent robes.[28] There can be no doubt, that the superfine robes of which the artist speaks, was a reality. When Hiuen Tsang visited Kashmir, he found the people wearing clothes of white linen. Regarding the various kinds of woollen garments which were prevalent in Kashmir and other parts of north India where the air was cold, the following observations of the Chinese pilgrim deserve to be quoted. 'The

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[27] *R. T.*, V, 271, VII, 1219-22.

[28] R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, Pl. XXIV, No. 5.

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names for their (i.e. of the people of northern India) clothing materials are *kiao-shê-ye* (*kausheya*) and muslin (*tieh*) and calico (*pu*), *kausheya* being silk from a wild silkworm; *ch'ü* (or *ch'u*)-*mo* (*kshauma*), a kind of linen; *han* (or *kan*)-*po-lo* (*kambala*), a texture of fine wool (sheep's wool or goat's hair), and *ho-la-li* (ral ?), a texture made from the wool of a wild animal—this wool being fine and soft and easily spun and woven is prized as a material for clothing'.[29] Leaving aside *ho-la-li* which was rare, it is evident from Hiuen Tsang that there were three main types of clothing; the first being *kauṣeya* covering various kinds of silk and muslin, the second *kṣauma,* linen manufactured from flax and hemp and the third *kambala,* implying woollen blankets and other kinds of cloth made from the wool of goats and similar other animals.

Various kinds of woollen blankets and garments such as *lohita-kambala, sthūla-kambala, kuthā* and *prāvāra* are referred to in Kṣemendra's *Narmamālā* and *Samayamātṛkā* and in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī.* Pattana (mod. Paṭan, the town founded by king Śaṁkaravarman) was a city famous for the weaving of cloths.[30] Woollen industry naturally presupposes the existence of a population devoted to pasture and there must have been many people in Kashmir who took up cattle-rearing as their means of livelihood. In this connection it is interesting to note, that Pattana which was a cloth weaving centre, was also a city famous for the transactions and sale of cattle.[31]

Another important industry was smithery. No agricultural community can go without implements which are needed for ploughing and digging soil and reaping harvest. Blacksmiths, therefore, were engaged from a remote period in making different types of tools which were employed in agriculture. Different kinds of steel weapons, such as swords, arrow-heads, dagger, *katar* or mace used in battle, were also manufactured by them. Copper and bronze, in addition to the black metal, engaged the attention of the metal workers. Various types of domestic utensils needed for the purpose of cooking and serving the food were made from brass and copper.[32] Some images discovered from the valley bespeak a high standard of craftsmanship that the workers achieved in casting and moulding bronze.

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[29] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 148.

[30] *R. T.*, V, 162.

[31] *Ibid.*

Jewellery too, provided food for many of the metal-workers. The inhabitants of the valley, men and women alike, used various types of silver, golden and precious stone-made jewelleries for personal adornment. The fashions of ornaments changed from time to time[33] and the goldsmiths had always a busy time of it. Both Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa testify that kings and nobles took their meals in cups and dishes which were made of gold and silver. Golden pitchers too have been alluded to.[34]

Pottery was one of the principal crafts. Specimens of pottery assignable to the neolithic period and early historical periods have been recovered from Burzahom and other nearby sites. (For a full account see chapter on archaeological remains). A large number of earthen vessels such as jar, gharā, hāṇḍī, jug, bowl, kāṅgarī or earthen brazier, incense burner, bottle, earthen lamp, etc., have also been recovered at Avantipura. Many of them are datable to the 9th century A.D.[35] Several terracotta plaques which were discovered from the same site also speak of the potter's art. Kṣemendra refers to earthen earrings which were used by women of the poorer classes.[36] In one passage of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* Kalhaṇa makes mention of potter-woman, from the context of which, it appears that pottery as an industry worked well in the valley.[37]

Another important industry was that of glass. In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* it is stated that the merchant Padmarājā regularly despatched to king Bhoja of Malwa, the water of Pāpasūdana *tīrtha* filled in large numbers of glass jars.[38] Huge quantity of ancient glass fragments are found strewn on the road that leads to the Pāpasūdana-Kapaṭeśvara spring from the village of Koṭher.[39] They indicate that in early times there existed a flourishing glass industry in the locality.

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[32] *Narmamālā* (ed. Kaul), I, 108-109.
[33] *R. T.*, VII, 928-931.
[34] *R. T.*, VIII, 265.
[35] *Ann. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1913-14, pp. 54-58.
[36] *Narmamālā*, I, 75.
[37] *R. T.*, VIII, 138.
[38] *R. T.*, VII, 190-193.

Among other industries, those of leather-work, wood-work and stone-work were important. According to Chinese evidence, in the 7th century A.D., the people of Kashmir wore leather doublets.[40] Kalhaṇa speaks of leather tanners as members of a particular profession.[41] Kṣemendra refers to leather water-bag among the important camp luggages of a Kāyastha officer.[42] The peacock shoes and other foot-wears must have been made of leather.[43] In this connection, it is interesting to note Kalhaṇa's remark that a hundred *dīnāras* were given to one leather-worker for the repair of a torn shoe and of a whip.[44]

Wood was probably employed for structural purposes, but in the absence of any architectural specimen of wood-carving, it is not possible to make any definite assertion on the point. Wood workers, however, must have made boats, carriages, palanquins and other types of conveyances and also household furnitures.[45]

The stone images which have been discovered in the valley, amply testify to the skill of the stone-carver and also to the wide extent of his profession.

Besides the principal industries mentioned above, there were many other minor industries, arts and crafts. In this connection, mention may be made of the professions of fishermen, gardeners, garland-makers, barbers, carters, and different types of artisans who formed various classes of the society. If Kalhaṇa is to be believed, there were copper mines in ancient Kāshmir[46] and many workers must have been employed there for extracting the metal.

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[39] R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p. 139.

[40] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), Vol. I, p. 148.

[41] *R. T.*, **IV, 55.**

[42] *Narmamālā* (ed. Kaul), I, 109.

[43] *Ibid.*, 124.

[44] *R. T.*, VIII, 137.

[45] *Narmamālā*, i, 124.

[46] *R. T.*, IV, 616-617.

Trade

Geographically, Kashmir occupies a key position touching the borders of India, Tibet, Afghanisthan and Central Asia; a feature that make her a great centre of trade and commerce.

Our knowledge regarding the internal trade of early Kashmir is comparatively meagre. Kalhaṇa's mention of regularly arranged markets (*haṭṭa*) in the city of Pravarapura[47] and references of new foundations of market by some members of the royal family in other towns,[48] however, leave no room for doubt that a brisk inland trade was carried on in Kashmir from a remote period. Kalhaṇa's description of the semi-legendary town of Narapura where the markets were kept full of supplies shows how closely the markets were associated in the Kashmirian mind with the idea of a large town.[49]

The principal items of commerce within the country were probably the different kinds of woollen cloth, food-grains, grape-wine, saffron, cattle, iron implements, earthen wares, bronze and copper utensils, leather-goods, etc. which were the chief natural and industrial products of the country. Though no detailed evidence is forthcoming, it seems almost certain that the various towns and cities of the valley like Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna, Huṣkapura, Pravarapura, Parīhāsapura, Jayapura, Śaṁkarapattana, Avantipura, and Śūrapura were principal commercial centres. Kalhaṇa informs us that Śaṁkarapattana was a city famous for the purchase and sale of cattle and for cloth weaving.[50] As already mentioned, Śrīnagara or Pravarapura had several markets.[51] A market called Kamalāhaṭṭa was founded at Parihāsapura by Lalitāditya's queen.[52] Śūrapura was an important station on the route to Rājapurī and was evidently a convenient emporium on the southern trade route. The internal trade was carried on both by land and river. Some idea of the land route may probably be had from the itinerary of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang. The pilgrim entered the valley from the west through the Bārāmūla pass. From Bārāmūla he went to Huṣkapura. The next place which he visited was Śrīnagara or Pravarapura, the capital. From the capital the pilgrim travelled through a mountainous district south west for above 700 li and reached *Pan-nu-tso,* i.e., modern Punch. From Punch, a journey south-west of above 400 li brought him to the *Ho-lo-she-pu-lo* (Rājapurī) country which at the time of Hiuen Tsang was subject to Kashmir.[53] There can be little doubt that in the 7th century A.D. commercial products were chiefly carried in the same road through which Hiuen Tsang travelled.

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[47] *R. T.*, III, 358.

[48] *R. T.*, IV, 208.

[49] *R. T.*, I, 201-202.

[50] *R. T.*, V, 162.

[51] *R. T.*, III, 358.

[52] *R. T.*, IV, 208.

Rich riverine traffic too was carried on along the navigable parts of the Jhelum. The boats were used in the happy valley for conveyance from a remote period and it may be presumed that many of them were employed for carrying commercial goods from one end of the country to the other. Dayaram Sahni is of opinion that the large sized stone blocks which were needed for the construction of big temples must have been carried in strong boats.[54] That the river Vitastā played an important part in the commercial traffic of the valley is also evident from the fact that most of the cities and towns of ancient Kashmir flourished on its banks.

The trade relations of Kashmir with foreign territories must be traced to a period of remote antiquity. Regular commercial contact with the countries of Central Asia must have been established as a result of the Kuṣāṇa conquest of the valley, if not earlier. Her trade with India was most probably carried on from an even remoter period, perhaps since the days of Aśoka. Paucity of evidence, however, prevents us from tracing its early character or to determine its date. According to the evidence furnished by Kalhaṇa, Kashmir had political and cultural alliance with Loh, i.e., Leh the capital of Ladakh from a considerable early period.[55] Possibly some sort of commercial relation also existed between the two countries.

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[53] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang,* Vol. I, pp. 258-285.

[54] *Ann. Rep. A. S. I.,* 1915-16, p. 56,

[55] *R. T.,* III, 10.

The principal routes of Kashmir leading to the neighbouring countries, references to which may be found in the accounts of foreign travellers as well as in indigenous literature, were presumably also the chief routes through which trade and commerce with other countries were carried on.

The chief land route on the west was that which went from Varāhamūla to Gandhāra. In the 7th century A.D., the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang entered Kashmir through this route. Ou-kong coming from Gandhāra followed this route on his way to the happy valley about the middle of the 8th century A.D. He describes this route as the road which starts from 'the western gate' and goes to *Kien-to-lo,* i.e., Gandhāra.[56] Kalhaṇa's account tends to show that king Śaṁkaravarman's (A.D. 883—902) expeditionary force against Uraśā set out and returned by this route.[57] A somewhat detailed description of this route has also been preserved in Alberuni's *Kitab-ul-Hind,* where it is said to be the 'best known' entrance to Kashmir.[58] The western route was undoubtedly one of the most important trade routes for it was connected with the famous ancient trade lines leading up to Central Asia and China. One of these lines, as we learn from the Chinese biography of Jinagupta (6th century A.D.), passed through Nagarahāra, the trade emporium of Kapisā, the Bamiyan range, the territories of Badakhshan, Wakhan and Tash Kurghan and ultimately reached Khotan. Another Indian Buddhist pilgrim Dharmagupta (*c.* 6th century A.D.) availed himself of this route, but from Tash Kurghan, instead of going directly to Khotan through snow-peaked ranges, he went directly to Kashgar.

From the accounts left by Indian and Chinese pilgrims, we learn that from Kashgar two different routes went up to the frontiers of China, one along the southern fringes of the Tarim basin and the other along the north. The prosperous states of Yarkand, Khotan, Niya and a number of forgotten colonies near the sites of Dandan Ulik and Miran were situated on the

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[56] L'Itinéraire d'Ou-kong, *J. A.*, 1895, p. 356.

[57] *R. T.*, V, 215-25.

[58] Alberuni, *India* (tr. Sachau), Vol. I, pp. 206 sqq.

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southern route. The countries lying along the northern route were Bharuka, Kuci, Karashar and Turfan. The two routes coming from the south and north met on the Chinese frontier at a place named *Yu-men-kuan*. The routes of Central Asia mentioned above played an important part in the trade relation between India on the one hand and Central Asia and China on the other. Merchants and traders from Kashmir must have travelled by these routes during the Kuṣāṇa period and afterwards.[59]

The northern route ran from the north shore of the Volur lake through the modern village of Atawat and Vijjemarg leading to Astor and Balti territories on the Indus. This route was followed by the Chinese travellers Fa-hien (A.D., 399), Che-mong (A.D. 400) and Fa-yong (A.D. 420), the Chinese official envoy Song-yun (518 A.D.) and the Chinese pilgrim Ou-kong.[60] Ou-kong described it as the second pass of Kashmir leading up to *Po-liu* or Baltistan.[61] Tāranāth writes that the second pass became fit for communication soon after Madhyantika's death.[62] The present Gilgit road seems to run beside the old pass. In ancient times, this route must have served as a second line of commerce with Central Asia and China, though due to its inaccessibility, it might have been less frequented. The trade link with Darad territory was also maintained by this route.

To the east of Kashmir, there was a third important route leading to Ladakh and then to Tibet and China. It is represented by the present pass of *Jo-ji-la*. This route was distinctly referred to by Ou-kong who mentioned it as the road which started from the 'gate in the east' and led to *Tou-fan* or Tibet.[63] Kalhaṇa's Chronicle probably points out that when the northern route from Darad country became closed by the winter, this route of the Bhauṭṭa land (Bhuṭṭarāṣṭradhvan) was used for a journey towards Kashmir.[64] The *Jo-ji-la* pass must have played a great part in the political, cultural and commercial intercourse between Tibet and Kashmir. In the 14th century A.D. the Turk Dulca and Bhauṭṭa Riñcana entered the happy valley through it.[65]

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[59] P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, pp. 13-14; N. P. Chakravarti, *India and Central Asia*, pp. 1-3.

[60] P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, pp. 68-74.

[61] L'Itinéraire d' Ou-kong, *J. A.*, 1895, p. 356.

[62] Schiefner, *Tāranāth's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien au dem tibetischen ubersetzt*, p. 23.

[63] L'Itinéraire d'Ou-kong, *J. A.*, 1895, p. 356.

Several other routes of Kashmir on the southern side penetrated through the Pīr Pantsāl range to India proper. The Bāṇaśālā or Bānhāl pass on the eastern extremity of the range maintained link with the hill states of East Punjab. This pass was the only route across the Pīr Pantsāl range where the snow fall was comparatively little and where communication was possible throughout the year. Hence the route was specially suitable for Bhikṣācara's invasion to Kashmir from the valley of Chenab which took place in winter.[66]

Proceeding westwards from Bāṇaśālā, we come to the pass of Siddhapatha. This pass lies on a route directly connecting Śrīnagara with Sialkot (anc. Śākala) in the Punjab. During the reign of Sussala, Prāsa, son of Sahasramaṅgala, with the view of raising a rebellion prepared to march into Kashmir by this route.[67] Due to its hilly character traffic in the route was possible only on foot.

West of the Siddhapatha pass, near the central part of the Pīr Pantsāl range, runs the Pīr Pantsāl route. In early days it was a much frequented line of commerce between Kashmir and central Punjab. The route took its start from the Kashmir town of Śūrapura which was founded by Avantivarman's minister Śūra.[68] It then passed across Kramavarta,[69] Hastivañja,[70] Pañcāladhārā[71] and Puṣyāṇanāḍa[72] and reached Bhairavagala[73] in the territory of Rājapurī.[74] Kṣemendra's mention of a part of this route as *lavaṇasaraṇi*[75] tends to show that ancient salt trade between Punjab and Kashmir was carried on by this route.

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[64] *R. T.*, VIII, 2887.

[65] Jonarāja, 142 sqq.

[66] *R. T.*, VIII, 1661-70.

[67] *R. T.*, VIII, 557.

[68] *R. T.*, VII, 1520, VIII, 1051, 1134, 1266, 1577, Śrīvara, I, 109, III, 433, IV, 531, 589, 611.

[69] *R. T.*, III, 27.

[70] *R. T.*, 302 sqq.; *Ain-i-Akb.*, II (tr. Jarret, Ist. ed.), pp. 347.

[71] Kṣemendra, *Samayamātṛkā*, II, 92.

[72] *R. T.*, VIII, 959.

[73] Śrīvara, IV, 529, 589.

The last important route across the Pīr Pantsāl range was the Toṣmaidan pass. It lay on an ancient line of communication which joined Śrīnagara and Lohara and afterwards led to the valley of Punch. Hiuen Tsang tells us that from near the capital of Kashmir, he travelled through a difficult mountainous district south west for above 700 *li* to the *Pan-nu-ts'o* country.[76] On his way to Parṇotsa, the Chinese pilgrim in all probability, seems to have crossed the Toṣmaidān route. After the death of Saṁgrāmarāja, the king of Kashmir, Lohara king Vigraharāja invaded Kashmir. His army in this journey from Lohara to Śrīnagara marched through this way.[77] Kalhaṇa's Chronicle reveals that during the rule of the first and second Lohara dynasty the Toṣmaidān route was a line of frequent communication.[78] If Alberuni is to be believed, Mahmud of Ghazni's unsuccessful expedition against Kashmir was also directed by this route.[79]

The western, northern and eastern routes, as well as the various passes over the Pīr Pantsāl range leading to the south, were important lines of communication between Kashmir and her neighbouring territories and a brisk trade must have been carried through these routes in ancient times. The several routes over the Pīr Pantsāl range, which as we have already seen were links between Kashmir and central and eastern parts of the Punjab, were joined by other highways which penetrated far into the interior provinces of India. Kashmir's trade with midland and eastern India was probably carried, in the 7th century A.D., by the same way in which Hiuen Tsang journeyed. Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanīmata* relates to the events of Vārāṇasī in such a manner that it seems extremely likely that some sort of communication existed between Banaras and Kashmir. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva which preserves traditions of a comparatively early age refers to a mendicant travelling from Kashmir to Pāṭaliputra and to a student from the seat of learning of Pāṭaliputa going to Kashmir,[80] whereas Kṣemendra found students from Gauḍa reading at the educational institutions of the happy valley.[81] The routes by which the students from the eastern parts of India travelled, were presumably also the trade routes of early times. Poet Bilhaṇa's account of journey from Kashmir to south India bears testimony to the fact that in the 11th century A.D., Kashmir was connected by highways with the principal cities and kingdoms of India. 'After leaving his native country he (Bilhaṇa) made for the banks of the Jamna along which the high road from north-western to central India was situated then as now. The first town, in which he stopped for sometime, was the sacred Tīrtha, Mathurā; thence he crossed over north-wards to the Ganges and visited Kanoj. Following apparently the course of the latter river, he arrived at its confluence with the Jamna at Prayāga (Allahabad) and finally at Banaras. This town appears to have been the easternmost point in his travels. It would seem that either at Banaras or in travelling back westwards he made the acquaintance of Karṇa, the prince holding Ḍāhala (Chedi or Bundelkhand) .... On leaving Karṇa, the poet visited Western India, attracted no doubt by the fame of the courts of Dhārā and Anhilvād and the sanctity of Somnath Pathan, the celebrated temple of Śiva in Soraṭh.... After performing his devotions at Somanātha, Bilhaṇa embarked, no doubt at the neighbouring port of Verabal, for the South of India. He continued his wanderings in the south for a considerable time and visited Rāmeśvara. Thrice he turned northwards and finally arrived in Kalyāṇa, where king Vikrama gave him the office of Vidyāpati or 'Chief Pandit'.[82]

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[74] For detailed account of the Pīr Pantsāl route and the ancient sites lying along it see Notes on the Ancient Topography of the Pīr Pantsāl Route, *J. A. S. B.*, 1895, pp. 381 sqq.

[75] *Samayamātṛkā*, II, 90.

[76] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 283.

[77] *R. T.*, VII, 140 sqq.

[78] *R. T.*, VII, 969-70, 1298, VIII, 192-201.

[79] Alberuni, *India* (tr. Sachan), Vol. I, p. 207 sqq.

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[80] Tawny, *Ocean of Stories*, Vol. p. 178-179.

[81] *Deśopadeśa*, VI.

[82] Bilhaṇa, *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* (ed. Bühler), Intr. pp. 18, 19; also canto XVIII, verses, 84-103.

It is likely that the routes by which the poet Bilhaṇa journeyed were traversed by many merchants and traders and their caravans carrying loads of commercial commodities. Bilhaṇa was not the only Kashmirian to accept a post in the court of Vikramāditya VI. The Lakshmeshwar inscription of the year 27 of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI refers to His Majesty's high minister and general Bhivanaya or Bhīma, a native of Kashmir who held the title of *mahāsāmantādhipati* and filled several important offices, being at the time the administrator of the palasige twelve thousand and the controller of *achchu-pannaya,* one of the departments of taxation.[83] Then again the Bodh-Gaya inscription of Aśokachalla of the Lakṣmaṇa saṁvat 51 makes mention of a *pandit* of Kashmir who was the *rājaguru* or royal preceptor and whose name has been differently read by scholars as Kāśmīra pandita Bhadanta Gucapatha or Kāśmīra pandita Abhaya Śrīrāja.[84] Another celebrated monk Vinayaśrīmitra chose as his abode the Kanakastūpavihāra of Paṭṭikeraka, in the district of Tipperah. All these amply show that Kashmir's communication with other parts of India was quite frequent in early days.

Though no detailed evidence is forthcoming, it may be presumed that the chief articles of export were raw wool, manufactured woollen cloths, hides, skins, and leather goods and fruits like pear, wild-plum, peach, apricot and grape.[85] Kalhaṇa refers to the selling of victuals by traders to far off regions which must have been very profitable.[86] Another important product for which the Kashmirians could find an easy market outside their territory was the saffron. That demand for the Kashmirian saffron in Indian market was very great in ancient times can be inferred from Śri Harṣa's *Ratnāvalī,* where the saffron of Kashmir is preferred to the saffrons grown in the country of the Pārasīkas and the Bāhlīkas.[87]

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[83] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 32 ff.

[84] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 28.

[85] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), Vol. I, p. 88.

[86] *R. T.*, VII, 495.

[87] *Kāśmīradeśaje kṣetre kuṁkumaṁ yadbhaveddhi tat* |
Sūkṣmakeśaramāraktaṁ padmagandhi taduttamaṁ ||

Among the principal items of import, salt was a considerable commodity. Without any sea and without any mountain or mine of salt, Kashmir had to depend upon her neighbouring territories for the supply of this important article. The Pīr Pantsāl route was the chief way by which salts from Punjab mines were brought to the happy valley. Kṣemendra's mention of a portion of this route as *lavaṇasaraṇi* or salt road is undoubtedly a reminiscence of the ancient salt trade.[88] The assafoetida and other kinds of spices which were used,[89] but which did not grow within the limits of Kashmir, appear to have been imported from outside, presumably from the regions adjoining Afghanistan. From China were imported fine cloths (*cīnāmbara*)[90] and vermillon.[91] According to the evidence of Marco Polo (13th century A.D.) coral, which was carried from the western parts of the world, had a better sale in Kashmir than in any other country.[92]

The mountain passes, through which trade was carried on, were well protected for fear of foreign invasions and each of them had a watch station at the end of the route. In addition to soldiers, customs officers were posted in these stations for collecting duties. Kṣemendra refers to the *śulkasthāna* of the Kashmirian end of the Pīr Pantsāl route and the *śaulkikas* who were posted on duty there.[93] A passage from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* clearly points out that commodities coming and going through the watch stations were stamped and registered by the customs officers and duties had to be paid to them on export and import of articles.[94]

Bāhlīkadeśasañjātaṁ kuṁkumaṁ pānduraṁ bhavet |
Ketakīgandhayuktaṁ tanmadhyamaṁ sūkṣmakeśaraṁ ||
Kuṁkumaṁ Pārasīke yat madhugandhi tadîritaṁ |
Iṣatpānduravarṇaṁ tadadhamaṁ sthūlakeśaraṁ ||

[88] If Kṣemendra is to be believed, salt was a luxury in Kashmir at his time and generally common people had to go without it, *Narmamālā*, I, 127.

[89] *R. T.*, VII, 1221.

[90] *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya* (R. A. S. B. ed.), 343.

[91] *R. T.*, VII, 97.

[92] Yule, *Travels of Marco Polo*, Vol. I, p. 167.

[93] *Samayamātṛkā*, II, 102.

[94] *R. T.*, VIII, 2010.

CHAPTER V

ADMINISTRATION

THE SOCIAL SET up of a country is partially reflected in its contemporary administrative system which does never entirely depend on the whims and caprices of an individual ruler, however great he might be. In the history of civilization societies were born earlier than States; and in the life of man the society comes first and the State next. But the two are closely interlinked, as our thought and action are interlinked and each modifies the other in a mysterious and imperceptible way. A thorough acquaintance with the administration of a State leads a good deal to the study of its social background. No set formulas can determine once for all the mode of a country's government; the exigencies of time and place are amongst the most important factors. The change in the ideas and ideals of a nation inevitably brings in a change in the social sphere which in its turn modifies the political machinery set up by the king as the representative of the people. To know ancient Kashmir's system of government would be to know something of its social make-up.

No work on polity delineates the art of Government of ancient Kashmir. Nor is there any inscription which can be utilized to trace the origin and development of her administrative machinery. All that we have, in case of Kashmir, include a few literary sources which in themselves do not deal with the administration of the country, but incidentally furnish some scattered informations which help us to get up an idea of it.

I

Nothing definite is known of the administrative machinery of Kashmir as it worked in the dawn of history. Perhaps it started with some tribal patriarchal or matriarchal type of self-government as found in the history of many other parts of the world. For lack of concrete evidence, no assertion can be made on the point.

If Hiuen Tsang and Kalhaṇa are to be believed, Kashmir was included in Aśoka's empire. Possibly the Maurya system of administration was in vogue at the time. Kalhaṇa, however, gives the credit of the introduction of new administrative measures in Kashmir, not to Aśoka, but to his son Jalauka. According to him, upto the time of Jalauka the government of Kashmir was of the same type as that of other States. There were seven chief officials: the judge, the revenue superintendent, the treasurer, the commander of the army, the envoy, the priest and the astrologer. Jalauka increased the number of offices (*karmasthāna*) into eighteen and by this act inaugurated the constitutional system of Yudhiṣṭhira.[1] Kalhaṇa is silent about the names of the eighteen offices which were created by Aśoka's son. Some scholars think that these eighteen offices evidently correspond to the eighteen tirthas' or court officials mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, viz., *mantrin*, *purohita*, *yuvarāja*, *senāpati*, *dvārapāla*, *antarveśika*, *kārāgārādhikārin*, *dravyasañcayakṛt*, *samnidhātṛ*, *pradeṣṭṛ*, *nagarādhyakṣa*, *kāryanirmāṇakṛt*, *dharmādhyakṣa*, *sabhādhyakṣa*, *daṇḍapati*, *durgapāla*, *rāṣṭrāntapāla*, and *aṭavipāla*.[2] In the absence of any corroborative evidence, it is difficult to say how far the administrative informations supplied by Kalhaṇa, for the period prior to Jalauka's accession, as well as of his new innovations in the legal administration of the country, tally to real facts.

Kalhaṇa says that the eighteen *karmasthānas* created by Jalauka existed upto the time of Lalitāditya.[3] He also mentions the names of few of the minor offices which had come into existence in the meantime. One of these was the office of the *aśvaghāsakāyastha* (fodderer for the horses), a position held for sometime by Durlabhavardhana.[4] Another was that of the *nagarādhipa* (city prefect).[5] Kalhaṇa speaks of the city prefect of Caṅdrāpīḍa's time named Calitaka as *sarvādhikaraṇasthairyocchettā*.[6] The exact meaning of this Sanskrit term is not clear and it is difficult to say whether it had anything to do with an official of the State.

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[1] *R. T.*, I, 118-20.

[2] Jolly, *Weber-Festgabe*, p. 84; also *Mahābhārata*, ii, 38.

[3] *R. T.*, IV, 141.

[4] *R. T.*, III, 489.

[5] *R. T.*, IV, 81.

II

The Karkoṭa king Lalitāditya seems to have made some improvement of the existing administrative machinery of the State. He is said to have created five new functionaries of high status, viz., *mahāpratīhārapīḍā, mahāsaṁdhivigraha, mahāśvaśālā, mahābhāṇḍāgāra* and *mahāsādhanabhāga*.[7] The five *karmasthāna* taken together was known by the name of *pañcamahāśabda* and this title was assumed by the officer presiding over all these departments.[8] Thus Mitraśarman who was at first merely a *sāṁdhivigrahika* (minister for peace and war), had the title of *pañcamahāśabda* bestowed upon him by king Lalitāditya as a token of his faithful service.[9] During the reign of Jayāpīḍa, a minister named Jayadatta held the office of the *pañcamahāśabda*.[10] In the last days of the Karkoṭa regime, when the maternal uncles of the weak ruler Cippaṭa Jayāpīḍa had come to share with the young king the sway over Kashmir, the eldest of them, Utpalaka, took the office of the *pañcamahāśabda* while his other brothers seized the other offices.[11] According to some scholars the term *pañcamahāśabda* as used in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* does not signify any particular office, but is merely an honorific title bestowed upon them who could make public appearance with the playing of five musical instruments.[12] The term *pañcamahāśabda,* as used in the Kanarese inscriptions and perhaps also in Gupta inscriptions, may be interpreted in that light, as identical with *pañcamahāvādya,* but in the valley of Kashmir, it was undoubtedly a term which had the meaning of five *karmasthānas.*[13]

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[6] *R. T.*, IV, 81.

[7] *R. T.*, IV, 142-43.

[8] *R. T.*, IV, 140, 142-43.

[9] *R. T.*, IV, 141.

[10] *R. T.*, IV, 512.

[11] *R. T.*, IV, 679-680.

[12] Aiyanger, *J. B. B. R. A. S., N. S.*, Vol. I, 1925.

Jayāpīḍa added two more offices to the existing administrative machinery. One of these was the *dharmādhikaraṇa,* apparently the department of justice,[14] and the other was the office of the *calagañja* (moving treasury).[15] The creation of a mobile exchequer became necessary to serve on expeditions when the king's own treasury (*gañja*) was far away.[16]

In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we come across the name of an accounts office called *śeḍa* during the last days of the Karkoṭa regime. According to Kalhaṇa, Ajitāpīḍa, a king, obtained food and dress from the income of the fifth account office, which received the surplus from the other four accounts offices, called *śeḍa* etc.[17] Kalhaṇa does not mention the names of other four accounts-offices, but if the glossator Bhaṭṭa Hāraka is to be believed, they were named as *śālasthula, namelyānaka, mithana* and *navagrāmādi.*[18] These names were not current in Mughal times when Bhaṭṭa Hāraka wrote his glossess; he probably copied these terms from some earlier source. As regards the administrative function of the *śeḍa* office, no information is available.

Kalhaṇa's account throws some light on the central administrative machinery of the Karkoṭa period but it does not tell us anything about the town or village administration of the time. Though the poet-historian mentions the name of city-prefect of Candrāpīḍa's time, yet the functions of this office are not made out clearly. Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya* written during the Karkoṭa king Jayāpīḍa's reign, however, tends to show that *nagaraprabhus* were censor of morals and collectors of fines from the prostitutes for violation of State prescribed moral laws.[19] It was possibly one of the various duties which the *nagarādhyakṣas* had to perform in connection with the administration of the towns.

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[13] For the refutation of Aiyanger's theory and proper interpretation of the term pañcamahāśabda in case of Kashmir see Pañcamahāśabda in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*', Padmanath Bhattacharya, *J. B. B.R.A.S.*, *N.S.*, Vol. VII, 1931.

[14] *R. T.*, IV, 588.

[15] *R. T.*, IV, 589.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *R. T.*, IV 691.

[18] *R. T.*, (Eng. tr.), Stein, Vol. I, p. 182.

III

The Utpala period marks further increase in the number of State offices, particularly in the department of revenue and taxation. The two new administrative departments created by Śaṁkaravarman were *aṭṭapatibhāga* (the office charged with share of the law of the market) and *gṛhakṛtya* (office concerned with domestic affairs).[20] The first was probably concerned with the collection of taxes on market shops, artificiers, etc. About the function and organization of the second office during Śaṁkaravarman's time, all that we learn from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is that it was placed in charge of a treasurer (*gañjavara*) and five *secretaries* (*divira*) and that Śaṁkaravarman collected revenue for this office by deducting or adding to the due weights, by fines on the villages and similar other imposts.[21] Kalhaṇa gives a detailed account of the fiscal exactions made by Śaṁkaravarman. It is said that he took from the temples the profits arising from the sale of incense, sandal wood and other articles of worship on the plea that they were the king's legal share of the selling price. Then again, he plundered straightway sixty-four temples under pretext of exercising supervision over them. He resumed the villages belonging to the temples after paying compensatory allowances (*pratikāra*) to their possessors. And when paying the compensatory allowance, he reduced the weight of the scales by one-third. He put down all opposition by saying that the deductions were made on account of food-supply, cost of woollen cloaks, etc., and that the temple *pariṣads* were still receiving more than their due annual allowance. Lastly, Śaṁkaravarman introduced for the first time the well known system of forced carriages of loads (*rūḍhābhārodhi*) which was of thirteen kinds.[22] When the villagers failed to carry the loads, he fined them for one year the value of the load calculated according to the highest price in the region concerned. After that he fined in the same way all the villagers enroute to the destination without any fault of their own.[23] The two new revenue offices created by Śaṁkaravarman were evidently required to collect the taxes obtained from such financial exactions.

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[19] *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya*, R.A.S.B. ed., verse 400.

[20] *R. T.*, V, 167.

[21] *R. T.*, V, 176-177.

[22] The thirteen kinds of corvee, mentioned by Kalhaṇa can not be specified.

The kingdom of Kashmir seems to have reached a financial crisis as a result of Śaṁkaravarman's unsuccessful foreign expeditions and the king was led to adopt these new methods of exaction to replenish the exhausted treasury. Kalhaṇa also speaks in the same strain, 'Losing most of his treasure by the distractions to which he abandoned himself, he carried off again and again, by skilfully designed exactions, whatever the gods and others owned'.[24]

The special methods of taxation adopted by Śaṁkaravarman, however, were abandoned by the rulers who followed him, but they retained some of the new revenue offices established by him of which the *gṛhakṛtya* was one.

The poet historian of Kashmir says that by levying contributions for the monthly pay of the *skandakas* and *grāmakāyasthas,* Śaṁkaravarman drove the villagers to poverty.[25] The exact meaning of the word *skandaka* is not known, though this officer seems to have existed even as late as the time of king Ananta (A.D. 1028—1063).[26] Stein considers him to be 'the village headman, the modern *Muquaddam* or *Lambardar,* who as the person directly responsible for the payment of the revenue, has since old days been an important factor in rural administration'.[27] The functions of the *grāmakāyastha* also are not stated in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī.* But Stein thinks that he is 'in all probability the official ancestor of the present Patwari. The latter is the village accountant, who keeps the papers showing the area of the holdings of the villagers, with their revenue assessment, etc.'[28] In one passage of his book the poet-historian of Kashmir relates that when the Tantrins were enjoying supreme power in the kingdom, the kings of Kashmir were in their service and tried to oust each other like *grāmakāyasthas,* by offering greater and greater bribes (*R.T.*, V, 265). From this passage it is clear that the posts of the *grāmakāyasthas* in ancient Kashmir were not stable and they used to oust each other by offering greater and greater bribes, presumably to the authority, who appointed them.

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[23] *R. T.,* V, 168-174.

[24] *R. T.,* V, 166.

[25] *R. T.,* V, 175.

[26] *Samayamātṛkā,* VI, 15.

[27] *R. T.,* (Eng. tr.), Vol. I, 210.

Though the names of the *skandakas* and *grāmakāyasthas* are first met with in the reign of Śaṁkaravarman, these posts which were not created by him, evidently existed from an ancient period. It is significant that Śaṁkaravarman paid the wages of these officers from contributions levied on the villagers. In earlier times their wages seem to have been paid from other heads of income, presumably from the king's exchequer.

The only other functionary of Śaṁkaravarman's time, known to us, is *dvārādhipa* or lord of the gates (*R. T.*, V, 214). He was undoubtedly the officer in charge of the defence of the passes (*dvāra*) leading into Kashmir. The powers and duties of this officer, who has been mentioned variously as *dvārapati, dvāreśa, dvārādhikārin* and *dvāranāyaka* may be seen from a number of passages occurring in different *taraṅgas* of Kalhaṇa's work. These passages will be discussed later on in connection with the administrative development of the valley.

The *gṛhakṛtya* office, which was created by Śaṁkaravarman, is again found in the reign of Cakravarman (A.D. 935) where it is said that the king placed one of his favourites called Śambhuvardhana, in charge of the *gṛhakṛtya* (*R.T.*, V, 301). The officer in charge of the *gṛhakṛtya*, was thus an important functionary of the State, who received his appointment direct from the king. Another important office of this period was the *akṣapaṭala*.[29] The superintendent of this office, like the officer in charge of the *gṛhakṛtya,* was also directly appointed by the king.[30] Regarding the functions of the *akṣapaṭala,* all that can be gleaned from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is that it was an office where land grants were executed by the recorder of official documents *(paṭṭopādhyāya),*[31] and that the Ekāṅga soldiers were appointed in this office from which they received their pay.[32] The glossator Bhaṭṭa Hāraka explains *akṣapaṭala* as the *gaṇanādhipatiṣṭhāna*[33] (office of the accountant-general), a meaning which receives partial corroboration from the context of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*

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[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *R. T.*, V, 301.

In the period of the Utpalas, we also come across the name of an officer called *kampanādhipati.*[34] Stein's correct interpretation of the word as commander-in-chief (*R.T.,* Eng. tr. Vol. I, p. 232) sets at rest all speculations about the meaning of the term.[35]

IV

The period, ranging from the fall of the Utpalas to the rise of the Lohara dynasty, shows a gradual development of the administrative system. Among the names of the officials met with in this period, there are *sarvādhikāra, maṇḍaleśa, kampaneśa, nagarādhikṛta, dvārapati, gañjeśa* and *adhikaraṇalekhaka.*

The name *mukhyamantrī* which about the end of the Utpala period denoted the prime-minister of the State is henceforth changed into the title of *sarvādhikāra* (charge of all offices).[36] That the terms of *sarvādhikāra* and *mukhyamantrī* are identical, is clear from some of the passages of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī.*[37] *Sarvādhikāra's* position was 'above everybody' and he was directly chosen by the ruler.[38]

The term *maṇḍaleśa* first occurs in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in connection with the reign of Yaśaskara.[39] Though his duties

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[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *R. T.,* V, 398.

[32] *R. T.,* VII, 162, 1604, 1609.

[33] *R. T.,* (tr. Stein), Vol. I, p. 223.

[34] *R. T.,* V. 447.

[35] Wilson, *Essay,* p. 73; Troyer, *R. T.,* iii, p. 569; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.,* iii, p. 1049.

[36] *R. T.,* VI, 199.

[37] *R. T.,* VIII, 2360, 2460, 2470.

[38] *R. T.,* VI, 333.

[39] *R. T.,* VI, 73.

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are not specified there, a comparison with some of the passages of the last two books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* clearly shows that he was the governor in charge of a province.

The *kampaneśa,* also called *kampanādhipati, kampanapati* etc. continued to be one of the highest functionaries of the State during this period.[40] His expeditions carried out against neighbouring rulers strengthens the view expressed by Stein that he was the commander-in-chief.

Nagarādhikṛta is the designation given by Kalhaṇa to the city-prefect of Yaśaskara's time.[41] He seems to be the same officer as *nagarādhipa* of the Karkoṭa period. In the Karkoṭa period the officer was probably, as we have seen, in charge of the supervision of moral conduct of the citizens. Now we find him as a revenue officer. Thus Kalhaṇa relates that king Yaśaskara made a pile of money through four city-prefects who helped themselves in turn to money and were hanging about each others back.[42] Evidently Yaśaskara appointed four prefects in order to increase his revenue by the contributions which they had to offer in competition. Bhuyya, a contemporary city-prefect of queen Diddā, is said to have encouraged the queen in her religious edifications.[43] It is not possible to say definitely if the *nagarādhikṛta* was also in charge of public works and buildings of the city.

Several references to *dvārapati* during the period shows that he was a high functionary of the State and was used to undertake military operations.[44] *Gañjeśa* was the title of the officer in charge of the treasury.[45] A person named Sindhu founded a separate revenue office called *sindhugañja* during the reign of queen Diddā, from which special sources of revenue were assigned.[46]

The *adhikaraṇalekhaka* appears to be an official recorder.[47]

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[40] *R. T.*, VI, 228, 230, 233, 237, 259.

[41] *R. T.*, VI, 70.

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] *R. T.*, VI, 296.

[44] *R. T.*, VI, 179, 281, 325.

[45] *R. T.*, VI, 266,

[46] *Ibid.*

[47] *R. T.*, VI, 30.

According to the glossator Bhaṭṭa Hāraka, he is the official in whose presence the sale of a piece of land is concluded and who after measuring the land draws up the deed.[48] The glossator's explanation receives corroboration from the context of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī.*

V

Under the Lohara dynasties, the administrative system of Kashmir becomes more elaborate, with various departments and graded officials.

As in the preceding periods, the prime officer of the State was the *sarvādhikāra* (chief minister). During the reign of Ananta, this office was held by Haladhara.[49] He was succeeded by Jayānanda in the next reign.[50] Among others who occupied this post Kalhaṇa mentions Vāmana, Bimba, Śṛṅgāra and Gauraka.[51] From Kalhaṇa's account of these *sarvādhikāras* it appears that they were second to none in the kingdom except the king. At times the prime-minister dictated the policy of the State and if the king was weak or ineffective it was he who exercised the supreme power of the Government.

During the Lohara period, the whole kingdom of Kashmir was divided into several *rājyas* for administrative purposes. The *rājya* were divided into several *viṣayas* and the *viṣayas* again were further sub-divided into *grāmas* or villages.

The kingdom of Kashmir was divided into two major units, Kramarājya and Maḍavarājya from an early time. In the Lohara period a third *rājya* was added to them, the kingdom of the Lohara. A governor appears to have been placed over each of these administrative units with the title of *Maṇḍaleśa* or *Maṇḍaleśvara*. One Ānanda was the *maṇḍaleśa* of *Maḍavarājya* during the reign of Harṣa.[52] Among the governors of the Lohara kingdom, Kalhaṇa mentions the names of Kandarpa, Bhāgika, Preman and Harṣaṭa.[53]

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[48] *R. T.*, (tr. Stein), Vol., I, p. 238.

[49] *R. T.*, VII, 208.

[50] *R. T.*, VIII, 364.

[51] *R. T.*, VII, 568; VIII, 560 862, 2360.

[52] *R. T.*, VII, 1304.

[53] *R. T.*, VII, 996, VIII, 1222, 1631, 2029.

Both Kramarājya and Maḍavarājya were sub-divided into a number of *viṣayas,* which correspond to the *parganās* of the modern times. The names of the ancient *viṣayas* so far known, have been referred to in Chapter I, and need not be re-stated here.

If Kṣemendra is to be believed, the officer at the head of the *viṣayas* was *mārgapati.* His function as such was the supervision of the *viṣaya* and the villages lying within it, checking of their accounts and inspection of roads. The name *mārgapati* probably originated from his last named duty. He also appears to be an executive officer with magisterial powers to decide civil and criminal cases.[54]

The village administration was carried on by the *grāmadivira.* His seems to have been the duty of the keeping of papers showing the area of the holding of the villagers with their revenue, assessment etc. According to Kṣemendra, he could be appointed or dismissed by the *mārgapati.*[55] This tends to corroborate Kalhaṇa's statement regarding the *grāmakāyasthas* of the former periods, who ousted each other by giving greater and greater bribes to the authority responsible for their appointments.

The administrative machinery of the Lohara period appears to have been divided into several departments of which at least three, the departments of revenue, judiciary and the army are clearly recognisable.

The head of the revenue administration was the officer called the *gṛhakṛtyādhipati* or *gṛhakṛtyādhikārin* or *gṛhakṛtyamahattama.* It seems from Kṣemendra that this post, which was created at the time of *Śaṁkaravarman,* had become one of the most important offices in his time and it was the highest ambition of every revenue officer to occupy this position. All domestic expenses, such as grants to temples, Brāhmaṇas, the poor and the strangers, grants for the fodder of the domestic animals and salaries of royal servants could be incurred only with his consent. Seven officers worked in his office and he had the prerogative of having officers under him to his own choice.[56] Kalhaṇa mentions a class of officers called *mahattama* whose status and functions are not clearly stated.[57] It is not unlikely that this is an abbreviated form of the *gṛhakṛtyamahattama.*

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[54] *Narmamālā* (ed. M. Kaul), I, 97. 127.

[55] *Ibid.* I, 128, 140.

According to Kṣemendra the revenue officer next to the *gṛhakṛtyamahattama* was the *paripālaka.* He seems to have collected taxes from the villagers. He is also said to have ravaged temples for filling up the royal treasury which is undoubtedly a continuation of the policy once started by Śaṁkaravarman.[58] The clerk-in-chief of *paripālaka* was called *lekhakopādhyāya.* He was in charge of the confidential official records. Kṣemendra describes him as a tremendous writer who can draft two hundred documents at a time and can issue them at once. He also possessed a thorough knowledge of accountancy.[59] Another officer, *gañjadivira,* who worked under the *paripālaka* was the superintendent of finance having control over the treasury. He seems to be the same officer as Kalhaṇa calls by the name of *gañjavara* or *gañjeśa.*[60] According to Kṣemendra he prepares a budget of income and expenditure for six months and submits it before his master *paripālaka,* which, after his approval, is given effect to.[61]

Another officer of the revenue department was probably the *śaulkika* who was posted on the frontier routes and collected customs duties over commodities coming and going through the watch stations.[62]

In the judicial department, the highest officer was the *rājasthāna* or *rājasthānādhikāra.*[63] A critical study of the passage of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* dealing with this officer tends to show that he was probably the chief-justice of the kingdom. Below the chief-justice, there were other subordinate judges who appear to be denoted by the term *tantrapati.*[64] *Rājasthānīya-mantrinaḥ* and *rājagṛhyas* mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* may also stand for subordinate judicial officers (*R.T.*, VII 1501, VIII, 756).

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[56] *Ibid.*, I, 32, 50; *R. T.*, VII, 42.

[57] *R. T.*, VII, 438, 1106, 1170, 1176, VIII, 440, 560.

[58] *Narmamālā,* I, 62-70.

[59] *Ibid.*, I, 71-82.

[60] *Ibid.*, I, 83; *R. T.*, V, 177, VIII, 473.

[61] *Narmamālā*, I, 83-96.

[62] *Samayamātṛikā,* II, 102; *R. T.*, VII, 2010.

[63] *R. T.*, VII, 601, VIII, 181, 1046, 1982, 2618, 2624.

In the war office, the foremost officer was the *kampanādhipati* (also called *kampaneśa, kampanādhipa,* etc.) who, as in the preceding periods, held the position of the commander-in-chief.[65] Another important officer was the *dvārādhipa* (also called *dvārapati* etc.[66] whom we have met as early as the Utpala period. Kalhaṇa clearly points out that in the Lohara period he was in charge of the defence of the passes leading into Kashmir and had a general command over the watch stations established on them. In one place of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* it is said, that the charge of the *dvāra* required soldierly qualities and implied rough duties.[67] Bimba, who held charge as lord of the gate, lost his life in fight with the Khaśa who lived immediately to the south and west of the Kashmir valley.[68] Kandarpa, who was the *dvārādhikāra* of king Kalaśa and Harṣa, kept himself constantly engaged in war with Rājapurī. He also tried to prevent the escape of a rebel prince Vijayamalla from Kashmir by closing every route.[69] Udaya, who held the position of lord of the gate under king Jayasiṁha, harassed the enemy forces of Lohara by continuous attacks.[70] The great importance attached by the ancient Kashmirians on the defence of the frontier passes can also be marked from Alberuni's (11th century A.D.) account. Speaking of his contemporary Kashmirian; he says that 'they are particularly anxious about the natural strength of their country and, therefore, take always much care to keep a strong hold upon the entrances and roads leading into it. In consequence, it is very difficult to have any commerce with them. In course of times they used to allow one or two foreigners to enter their country, particularly Jews, but at present they do not allow any Hindu whom they do not know personally to enter, much less other people.'[71] The person in charge of the gates must naturally have been a very responsible military officer of the State and in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* he is ranked along with *kampaneśa* and other highest officials. Throughout the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* successive lords of the gate exercise military duties and we never find Kalhaṇa mentioning more than one person holding that post at the same time. This clearly shows that this office could be held by only one person at a time. The Kashmirians had very wisely realised the value of unified control of frontier stations under an able man.

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[64] The term *tantrapati* occurs only once in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (*R. T.*, VIII, 2422) where his functions are not clearly stated. Any doubt as to the meaning of the term, however, is set at rest by the explanation of Jonarāja, who distinctly mentions '*bṛhattantrapati*' *as a* '*dharmādhikārin*' *or judge.*

[65] R. T., VII, 154, 267, 365, 399, 579, 887, 923, 1319, 1362, 1366, VIII, 177, 180, 627, 647, 652, 685, 698, 860; 960, 1046, 1624, 1659, 1660, 2190, 2205, 2420, 2758, 2807, 2868, 3322.

[66] *R. T.*, VII, 216, 223, 364, 576, 578, 584, 595, 887; 912, 995; 1172, 1177, 1178, 1301, 1319, 1361, VIII, 21, 178, 179; 185; 293, 301, 573 633, 756, 790, 1042, 1482, 1832; 1927; 1963, 2090; 2254, 2354; 2421, 2487, 2493, 2501, 2526, 2662, 2788, 2844, 2852, 2894, 2937.

[67] *R. T.*, VIII, 422.

[68] *R. T.*, VII, 216-217.

[69] *R. T.*, VII, 576, 912, 971.

[70] *R. T.*, VIII, 1832, 1927, 2281.

Under the lords of gates, there was an important class of military officers, charged with the defence of the watch stations. They were called *draṅgādhipa* (master of the watch stations).[72] Theirs were the duties of guarding the approaches to the valley.[73]

Among other officers of the Lohara regime, mention may be made of the city-prefect (*nagarādhipa, nagarādhikṛta*). He was charged with various duties. Fines were imposed by the city-prefects on the house-holders in case of immoral conduct on the part of a married woman.[74] He punished the persons who had carnal intercourse with dancing girls, received into households as wedded wives.[75] Apparently, the *nagarādhipa* was censor of morals.[76] The maintenance of law and order of the city seems to be one of his duties, and one of the city-prefects, Vijayasiṁha, distinguished himself during the reign of Kalaśa by suppressing all thieves.[77] In times of emergency the *nagarādhipa* had to perform some military duties in connecton with the defence of the town. The town-prefect *Nāga* was in charge of large force and was entrusted with the defence of the city, when Sussala and Uccala attacked king Harṣa.[78] Another city-prefect, Janaka was called by Sussala to suppress a revolt of his troops, which broke out in the city. (*R.T.*, VIII, 814).

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[71] *India* (tr. Sachau), XVIII, p. 206.

[72] *R. T.*, VIII, 1578.

[73] *R. T.*, VII, 1352, VIII, 2507, 2702, 2803.

[74] *R. T.*, VIII, 3336.

[75] *R. T.*, VIII, 3338.

Daṇḍanāyaka or *daṇḍādhikārin* was perhaps the chief of the police department.[79] *Mahattama* might have been an officer belonging to the personal staff of the king.[80] There was a regular system of espionage and the spies were called by such names as *cakrikā, piśuna* and *puṁścalaka*.[81]

The increased number of officials and presence of various small administrative departments indicate the State interference over individual lives and properties. The reasons for the growth and development of the bureaucracy in the Lohara period have already been discussed in the chapter on social history and need not be repeated here.

The administrative machinery of the post-Lohara period, on the whole, seems to be the same as in the preceding period. Jonarāja mentions the designations of some of the officers whom we meet in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. But the information supplied by him are too scanty to give a connected picture of the administrative system of the last days of the Hindu rule.

The relation between the State and different classes of people have been dealt in other chapters. A few general observations about the administrative system of ancient Kashmir, however, may be made here.

[76] The *nagarādhikṛtas* seem to be censor of morals in the Karkoṭa period too, *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya* (R.A.S.B. ed.), 400.

[77] *R. T.*, VII, 580.

[78] *R. T.*, VII, 1542.

[79] *R. T.*, VII, 591, VIII, 640.

[80] *R. T.*, VII, 659.

[81] *Narmamālā* (ed. M. Kaul), p. 6.

It seems that the king of Kashmir was an absolute ruler in the true sense of the term. Divinity was attributed to him. According to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the king was a part and parcel of Lord Śiva.

> *Kaśmīrāḥ pārvatī tatra rājā gñeyo harāṁśajaḥ* |
> *Nāvagñeyaḥ sa duṣtohapi viduṣā bhūtimicchatā* ||
> (*R.T.*, I, 72)

The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* expresses the same view.

> *Kāśmīrāyaṁ tathā rājā tvayā jñeyo harāṁśajaḥ* |
> *Tasyāvajñā na kartavyā satataṁ bhūtim icchatā* ||
> (*Nīlamata*, ed. De Vreese, 237).

The *Mahāvastuavadāna* of the Buddhists contains the details of the election of a king who, on being hailed by all as the lord, is called Sarva Mahāśākyo. The same note is echoed in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. The king is a great Śākya (*mahāśākya*). He can not be hurt by a man. He is also the source of all light.

> *Mahāśākyaḥ sa nṛpatīḥ*
> *na śakyo bādhituṁ tvayā* |
> *Tasmindṛṣṭe tu Kalyāṇi*
> *bhavitā te tamaḥkṣayaḥ* || (*R.T.*, I, 141).

But though the king was regarded as a part and parcel of God and though in theory his powers were unlimited, there was always some sort of practical check over his authority. The first check was supplied by the chief minister and other ministers, whose will, as is evident from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the king could not wholly ignore. If Kalhaṇa is to be believed, their opinion was to be solicited in case of the selection of a new monarch. In the legendary period, at least two kings, Meghavāhana and Mātṛgupta, were placed on the throne of Kashmir by the ministers.[82] When queen Sugandhā (A.D. 904–906) wanted to invest some fit person with the royal power, she had to seek the permission of the ministers.[83] Before his death king

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[82] *R. T.*, III, 2, 233-240.

[83] *Ṛ. T.*, V, 250.

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Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-48) also had to consecrate Varṇṭa as king with the approval of the ministers.[84]

A second check on the king's power was furnished by the *purohita* corporation of the kingdom who resorted to hunger-strikes (*prāyopaveśana*), whenever any action taken by the king went against their own interest or against the interest of the country. During the interregnum after Śūravarman II (A.D. 939), it was their hunger-strike which forced the Brāhmaṇas of the valley to select Yaśaskara as king.[85] In the reign of queen Diddā (A.D. 980/81—1003), we find Brāhmaṇas holding fast for removing Tuṅga, the *sarvādhikāra,* from his office.[86] To bring about the fall of Tuṅga, the Brāhmaṇas and the *purohitas* of sacred shrines started a solemn fast in the reign of Saṁgrāmarāja (A.D. 1003-1028).[87] King Harṣa (A.D. 1089—1101) had to exempt the members of the *purohita* corporation from the forced carriage of loads as they undertook *prāyopaveśana*.[88] Once king Sussala (A.D. 1112-20) neglected his princely duties, whereupon all his good officers deserted him and the Ḍāmaras started oppressing the people. The Brāhmaṇas seeing no other alternative resorted to fast to bring the king to his senses.[89] Thus kings were often compelled to take measures they did not like.[90]

A third check on the king's autocracy was provided by the growing power of the Ḍāmaras, the nature of which has been fully discussed in the chapter on society.

In the historical period at least, we do not meet with any ruler, who tries to determine a new administrative set up for the country. There were some, no doubt, who made additions and alterations here and there but no genius, who could usher an overhaul change into the system, ever sprang up. The king was certainly the chief patron of the State, of the society, of the religion and of the culture, but he did not create them.

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[84] *R. T.*, VI, 90-91.
[85] *R. T.*, V, 468.
[86] *R. T.*, VI, 336-343.
[87] *R. T.*, VII, 13.
[88] *R. T.*, VII, 1088.
[89] *R. T.*, VIII, 658.
[90] For other similar instances see *R. T.*, VIII, 768 sqq., 2733.

On the other hand he was throughout guided by the age-old customs, usages and traditions.

The administrative machinery of ancient Kashmir was well-developed, organized and efficient. But that does not mean that all the officers of the State were honest and dutiful. In fact both Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa, our principal authorities on early Kashmirian history, are eloquent in speaking of the systematic oppressions which were carried on by the Kāyasthas (officers of the Government) in different periods.[91] The powerful Ḍāmaras, the wealthy merchants and other richer sections of the society were more or less free from their exactions. But the common man, the tiller of the soil and the humble worker, had to bear the brunt of their inhuman exactive measures.

The State was not conscious about the poverty and wants of the poorer sections. Personally some of the kings might have donated *agrahāras* to the Brāhmaṇas and bestowed wealth upon some of their favourites to remove their economic disability, but the State did not take any responsibility for the poverty-striken people and never tried to ameliorate their lot. Perhaps the poverty and distress in the lower stratum of the society were natural outcomes of a feudal bureaucratic system.

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[91] *Narmamālā*, I; *R. T.*, IV, 621-630, V, 181, 184, 439, VII, 1225, VIII, 85-87 etc.

CHAPTER VI

RELIGION

THE EARLIEST INHABITANTS of Kashmir probably cherished some aboriginal beliefs, the details of which are not traceable now. The snake-cult or Nāga-worship seems to have been established in the valley from a remote period and undoubtedly had been one of the earliest religions of the land. In the third century B.C., Buddhism seems to have made some headway, converted a large number of people and overshadowed the Nāga cult which ultimately sunk into oblivion. Among Hindu gods, Śiva either originated or entered the valley sometime before the faith of the Śākya prince made its entrance and was later followed by Viṣṇu, Sūrya and other Brahminical gods and goddesses. A brief history of the different types of religious cults and beliefs of early Kashmir, may be sketched as follows.

Nāga-worship

Kashmir was one of the principal centres of serpent-worship in India.Though detailed evidence is lacking, there is no doubt that snake-worship prevailed in the valley from a very early period.

Regarding the exact date when the snake-cult was prevalent in the land, no direct testimony is available. But there are reasons to believe that in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., it might have been the principal religion of Kashmir. In the *Mahāvaṁsa*, it is said that Aśoka's adviser Moggaliputta Tissa sent Majjhantika to preach Buddhism in Kashmir. When the *śramaṇa* reached the valley, he found that Aravāḷa, the king of the Nāgas, was ruling over it. Aravāḷa was destroying the corns of the country by hail storm. Majjhantika, however, due to his divine powers remained unaffected from rains and storms. This made the Nāga king furious who sent lightning and struck rocks against the Buddhist monk in order to kill him. But all these went in vain. Then convinced of the great powers of Majjhantika, the Nāga king Aravāḷa together with his followers submitted before the monk and accepted Buddhism. This was followed by the conversion into Buddhism of a large number of Nāga worshippers of Kāśmīra-Gandhāra.[1]

Hiuen Tsang, who visited Kashmir in the 7th century A.D. relates that according to the native records, Kashmir was originally a dragon lake.[2] A very detailed and vivid account of how the arhat Madhyāntika (apparently Majjhantika) rescued the valley of Kashmir from the Nāgas, established there the religion of Buddha and settled 500 *arhats* in the country, has been preserved in the Chinese *Vinaya* of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādin sect.[3] The Tibetan scholar Bu-ston, who composed his famous history of Buddhism in the 14th century A.D., points out that when Madhyāntika went to Kashmir to preach Buddhism, he found the Nāgas presiding in the valley. They at first gave a tough opposition to Madhyāntika, but at the end, the Buddhist monk succeeded in subduing the troublesome Nāgas.[4]

That Nāga-worship prevailed in early Kashmir receives confirmation not only from the accounts of Ceylon, China and Tibet but also from native literatures.

The *Nīlamatapurāṇa,* probably a work of the 7th or 8th century A.D., records at great length how Kashmir was created out of water and left to the care of the Nāgas of whom Nīla, the son of Kaśyapa, was the chief. According to this work, in the beginning, human beings could dwell in the valley for six months of the year, i.e., during the summer. In winter, the land was occupied by the Piśācas and human beings had to leave the valley due to excessive cold. Once Nīla was satisfied with a Brāhmaṇa called Candradeva and agreed at his prayer that men should be allowed to live in Kashmir during the winter also. The Nāga king also disclosed to him the rites which were to be observed by the future human inhabitants if they were to live permanently in the valley.

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[1] *Mahāvaṁsa,* XII, 3.

[2] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang,* I, p. 265.

[3] See J. Przuluski's article in the *Journal Asiatique* for the year 1914, pp. 535. ff.

[4] *History of Buddhism* by Bu-ston (tr. E. Obermiller), II, p. 90.

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Most of the rites prescribed by Nīla are concerned with the nature of worship of popular deities. But there are some festivals which are particularly connected with the worship of Nāga or serpent. Thus Nīla was worshipped on the festival of the first snowfall. Nīla and the Nāgas were also propitiated on the Irāmañjaripujā festivity which took place in the month of *Caitra*. Another ceremony called Varuṇapañcamī was held on the fifth day of *Bhādra* and was connected with the worship of serpent king Nīla.

The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* also records the names of the principal Nāgas worshipped in Kashmir, the total number of which was 527. The four *dikpālas* of Kashmir, mentioned by the author of the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* were four Nāgas–Bindusāra in the east, Śrīmadaka in the south, Elāpatra in the west and Uttaramānasa in the north. From a remote period, great importance must have been attached to the worship of the Nāgas as is shown by the long account of them given in the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*. A large number of temples, built near some of the famous springs and undoubtedly early origin of the pilgrimages directed to them, clearly pointed out the popularity of the Nāga-cult in ancient Kashmir. The Nāgas were supposed, according to the *Nīlamatapurāṇa,* to reside in the lakes and springs of the valley. Even now names of places like Vernāg, Anantanāg, Sernāg, etc. show traces of ancient Nāga beliefs.

That the Nāgas were eminently popular deities in the happy valley, is also testified to by Kalhaṇa's Chronicle. According to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* Kashmir was a land protected by Nīla, the lord of all Nāgas.[5] Even when Buddhism had undermined the Nāga beliefs, one of its early kings Gonanda III is said to have reintroduced the pilgrimages, sacrifices and other worship in honour of the Nāgas, as they had been before.[6]. There is also a story of Suśravas Nāga, and his alliance with a Brāhmaṇa is depicted with much details.[7] King Durlabhavardhana and his scions are ascribed to a family which, according to Kalhaṇa, was Nāga in its origin.[8] Nāga Mahāpadma, the tutelary deity of the Vular lake, is said to have showed king Jayāpīḍa, a mountain which yielded copper.[9]. Another Nāga called Piṇḍāraka deluded the Darad chieftain Acalamaṅgala, who attacked the happy valley during the reign of Ananta.[10] Among the festivals connected with the Nāga-cult, Kalhaṇa speaks of the annual festival in honour of the great serpent king Takṣaka 'frequented by dances and strolling players and thronged by crowds of spectators' which was celebrated on the 12th day of the dark half of *Jyaiṣṭha*.[11]Kṣemendra also refers to a Takṣaka-yātrā festival in his *Samayamātṛkā* (*Samayamātṛkā*, ii, 88).

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[5] *Rājataraṅgiṇi,* I, 28, 182.

[6] *R. T.,* I, 185.

[7] *R. T.,* I, 201-273.

That the Nāga-cult prevailed in the valley throughout the Hindu rule and even afterwards, seems to be corroborated by the account of Abul Fazal. He tells us that during the reign of Akbar (A.D. 1556—1605) there were in Kashmir 45 places dedicated to the worship of Śiva, 64 to Viṣṇu, 3 to Brahmā and 22 to Durgā, but there were 700 places in the valley where there were carved images of snakes which the inhabitants worshipped.[12]

Buddhism

Buddhism seems to have obtained a footing in Kashmir as early as the 3rd century B.C. The Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvaṁsa* preserves an account of the introduction of Buddhism in the valley by Majjhantika which has been already noted.[13] That Buddhism was first preached in Kashmir by Madhyāntika and that he succeeded in making a large number of converts also receives confirmation from traditions recorded in the Tibetan work *Dul-va*[14] and the account of Hiuen Tsang.[15]

We learn from Kalhaṇa that Kashmir formed a part of the

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[8] *R. T.*, III, 530.

[9] *R. T.*, V, 592-617.

[10] *R. T.*, VII, 167-175.

[11] *R. T.*, I, 222.

[12] *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II (tr. Jarret, 2nd edition), p. 356.

[13] *Mahāvaṁsa*, XII, 3.

[14] *Dul-va* (A. S. B. Xylograph), XI, 684-690.

[15] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I. p. 261-262.

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empire of Aśoka, who was a follower of Jina, i.e., Buddha.[16] The emperor built in the valley numerous *stūpas*,[17] some of which were existing as late as the time of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang's visit.[18] The great emperor, who was zealous always in preaching and disseminating the religion of Buddha throughout the length and breadth of his kingdom and even beyond, seems to have tried his best to spread it in the secluded vale of Kashmir too.[19]

What happened to the state of Buddhism in Kashmir, after the death of Aśoka, we do not know. Probably in the 1st century B.C., Kashmir came under the occupation of the Greek king Menander.[20] He was first a lay devotee of Buddha but afterwards left his throne, joined the Saṅgha and at last became an *arhant*. He created a *vihāra* for his co-religionists which came to be known as Miliñdavihāra, after the name of its founder.[21]

The Buddhism of Kashmir entered its golden phase under the patronage of the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka and his successors who came to occupy the valley about the end of the 1st century A.D. Kalhaṇa mentions that three Turuṣka, i.e., Kuṣāṇa kings, Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka ruled over Kashmir and founded three towns called Huṣkapura (mod. Huskur), Juṣkapura (mod. Juskar) and Kaniṣkapura (mod. Kânespur).[22] These Kuṣāṇa kings were given to acts of piety and built many *vihāras, maṭhas, caityas* and similar other structures.[23] During their powerful rule, the land of Kashmir was, to a great extent, under the possession of the Bauddhas, who, by practising the law of religious mendicancy, had acquired great renown.[24]

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[16] *R. T.*, I, 101-102.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), I, p. 150.

[19] The name of Kashmir does not occur in the edicts of Aśoka, where a detailed description has been given regarding the emperor's missionary activities in different parts of his far flung empire and even beyond it. But we know from R. E. V. that *Dharma-Mahāmātras* were appointed by Aśoka to establish and promote *Dharma* among the Gandhāras and other peoples. Now Gandhāra, in pre-Christian days, seems to have included within it, the territory of Kashmir. In the Buddhist texts, 'Kāśmīra-Gandhāra' was regarded as one of the sixteen *janapadas*. Kaspapyros (i.e. Kāśmîra) was noticed by Hecataeus (549-486 B.C.) as a Gandaric city. In the *Milindapañha*, Kāśmīra-Gandhāra appears as a compound name. (*Milindapañha*, ed. V. Trenckner, p. 331). It, therefore, appears highly probable that when Aśoka refers to Gandhāra in his inscription, he probably includes within it the territory of Kashmir. According to some scholars, Nabhakas mentioned in R.E. XIII, were probably the inhabitants of Kashmir; see *I.H.Q.*, XXIV, pp. 163-164.

[20] As related in the *Milindapañha* the discussion between Milinda and Nāgasena took at a place which was only 12 yojanas from Kashmir (*Milindapañha*, ed. Trenckner, pp. 82-83) and this has some important bearing on the history of Buddhism in Kashmir in the 1st century B.C.

[21] *Milindapañha* (ed. Trenckner), p. 420.

That Kashmir was a great centre of Buddhism under the Kuṣāṇas receives further corroboration from the fact that the fourth Buddhist council took place in Kashmir under the auspices of Kaniṣka. At the end of the council, Hiuen Tsang informs us, several expository commentaries were written on the *Sūtra, Vinaya,* and *Abhidharma.* The original text and its explanation came to be known as *Upadeśa-Śāstra* and *Vibhāṣā-Śāstra.* Kaniṣka had these treatises engraved on copper plates and deposited them at a *stūpa,* apparently situated in Kashmir.[25]

Many great Buddhist scholars resided in Kashmir during the reign of the Kuṣāṇas. Of these, Kalhaṇa mentions the name of Nāgārjuna who resided at Saḍarhadvana, i.e., Harwan.[26] According to Chinese evidence Aśvaghoṣa, Vasuvandhu, Vasumitra, Dharmatrāta, Saṅghabhadra, Jinatrāta and many other scholars lived in Kashmir from the time of Kaniṣka onwards.[27]

The flourishing state of Buddhism in Kashmir at the end of the Kuṣāṇa period and afterwards is testified to by archaeological evidence. The site of Harwan yields Buddhist *stūpas,*

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[22] *R. T.*, I, 168. Of the three Turuṣka kings, Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka, mentioned by Kalhaṇa, Huṣka has been generally identified with the Kuṣāṇa king Huviṣka, Juṣka is probably Vājeṣpa of the Ara inscription of the year 41, and Kaniṣka may be either Kaniṣka I or Kaniṣka II of the Ara inscription.

[23] *R. T.*, I, 169-170.

[24] *R. T.*, I, 171.

[25] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang,* I, pp. 270-271.

[26] *R. T.*, I, 173.

[27] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang,* I, pp. 272-283.

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bases of chapels, inscriptions containing the celebrated Buddhist creed *ye dharma,* etc. From the appearance of Kharoṣṭhī numerals on the brick tiles and from the Buddhist inscriptions written in Brāhmī characters of about the 4th century A.D., the Buddhist antiquarian objects of Harwan may be assigned to a period round about A.D. 300.[28] A number of terracotta figures, mainly busts or heads of Buddha, Bodhisattva and Buddhist monks have been recovered from another ancient site, Uṣkur (Huviṣkapura) and are assignable stylistically to the 4th or 5th century A.D.[29]

Not only the Kuṣāṇa kings, but local rulers of Kashmir also seem to have patronized the faith of Buddha in the early centuries of the Christian era. One of its early kings, Meghavāhana, prohibited the slaughter of animals in his kingdom.[30] He also stopped the killing of animals in sacrifices.[31] Amṛtaprabhā, the wife of the king, erected a *vihāra* for Buddhist monks, which was called Amṛtabhavana.[32] Many *vihāras* of renown were built by other queens.[33] Kalhaṇa compares the king with Jina, i.e., Buddha and also with Bodhisattvas.[34] All these probably indicate Meghavāhana's attachment to the faith of the Śākya prince.

During the reign of Pravarasena (*c.* 6th century A.D.) his maternal uncle Jayendra built a *vihāra* and erected a statue of the 'Great Buddha'.[35] Pravarasena, according to Kalhaṇa, was succeeded by his son Yudhiṣṭhira II.[36] Several ministers of his, who bore the names of Sarvaratna, Jaya and Skandagupta obtained distinction by erecting *vihāra* and *caityas*.[37] In the *vihāra* built by a queen of king Meghavāhana, a fine statue of

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[28] R. C. Kak. *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir,* pp. 105-111.

[29] Kak, *Handbook,* pp. 11-24.

[30] *R. T.*, III, 6.

[31] *R. T.*, III, 7.

[32] *R. T.*, III, 9.

[33] *R. T.*, III, 11-14.

[34] *R. T.*, III, 4, 7.

[35] *R. T.*, III, 355.

[36] *R. T.*, III, 379.

[37] *R. T.*, III, 380.

Buddha was placed by Amṛtaprabhā, the wife of king Raṇāditya.[38]

Inspite of the legendary character of the early portions of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Kalhaṇa's main contention that Buddhism received patronage from the local rulers of Kashmir during the early centuries of the Christian era, seems on the whole, to be based on facts. The Jayendravihāra, said to have been founded by Pravarasena's maternal uncle Jayendra, was visited by Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century and Ou-kong about the middle of the next century saw the *vihāra* of Amṛtabhavana, built by Amṛtaprabhā, queen of Meghavāhana, in a flourishing condition.[39]

A fairly reliable account of the condition of Buddhism in Kashmir from the 7th century onward has been furnished by the accounts of the Chinese travellers Hiuen Tsang and Ou-kong, the Chronicle of Kalhaṇa and some archaeological discoveries made at Gilgit, Pāndreṭhan and Paraspor.

Several Buddhist manuscripts were found out from a *stūpa* at Gilgit.[40] The script used in the manuscripts may be assigned to the 6th or 7th century A.D. One of the manuscripts reveals the name of a Śāhi king Śrīdeva Śāhi Surendra Vikramāditya Nanda who was apparently ruling over the Gilgit region when the manuscripts were deposited. Buddhism was thus flourishing on the northern part of Kashmir sometime about the end of the 6th century A.D. or in the early part of the next under the patronage of Śāhi rulers.

To about the same period as the manuscripts of Gilgit, may probably be assigned also a large number of Buddhist sculptures hailing from the village of Pāndreṭhan (ancient Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna). Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna was the capital of Kashmir from a very early date. It enjoyed the privilege of being the metropolis until about the end of the 6th century, A.D. when Pravarasena built a new city called Pravarasenapura (mod. Śrīnagar), which henceforth became the new capital of the valley. From stylistic consideration, the sculptural remains dis-

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[38] *R. T.*, III, 463-64.

[39] *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (1861), p. 223; *J. A.* (1895), 9 Serie, Tome VI, p. 354.

[40] *Gilgit Manuscripts* (ed. N. Dutt). I, Intr. pp. 40-43.

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covered at Pāndreṭhan seem to have belonged to a period when the old city was finally abandoned in favour of the new. Besides two Buddhist *stūpas*, and the courtyard of a monastery, the objects of Buddhist antiquities found at Pāndreṭhan include two standing figures of Buddha, a seated statue of Buddha, one diademed and ornamented image of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, another fragmentary sculptured relief of Buddha or Bodhisattva and lastly a relief representation of the birth of Siddhārtha.[41]

Hiuen Tsang paid a visit to Kashmir in A.D. 631. He saw in the valley about one hundred *saṅghārāmas* and five thousand Buddhist priests. There were four *stūpas* built by Aśoka, each of which contained relics of Tathāgata. Among the Buddhist *vihāras* visited by him specific mention is made of the Juṣkavihāra (mod. Uṣkur, near Bārāmūla) and Jayendra vihāra (founded by Jayendra, the maternal uncle of Pravarasana II). The Chinese pilgrim stayed in the court of Kashmir for a couple of years, during which period (with the help of the local clerks)[42] he took copies of a large number of Buddhist scriptures. Evidently, Kashmir was a great centre of Buddhism when Hiuen Tsang visited it.

Hiuen Tsang entered Kashmir during the period of the Karkoṭas. The kings of the Karkoṭa dynasty were followers of Hinduism and worshipped in general gods like Viṣṇu, Śiva and Sūrya, all belonging to the Hindu pantheon. Nonetheless, some of the monarchs of the dynasty also gave liberal patronage to the religion of Tathāgata. Hiuen Tsang was received with favour by one of its early kings, presumably Durlabhavardhana. Durlabha's queen Anaṅgalekhā built a Buddhist *vihāra*, which came to be known as Anaṅgabhavanavihāra.[43] Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa founded one Rājavihāra with a large quadrangle and a large *caitya* at Parihāsapura. At Huṣkapura, the noble minded king built another large *vihāra* with a *stūpa*.[44] A colossal copper image of Buddha was made by him, which is said to have reached up to the sky.[45] At Parihāsapura Caṅkuṇa, a Tukhāra minister of the king erected the Caṅkuṇavihāra, built a *stūpa* and placed there golden image of Jina, i.e., Buddha.[46] A second *vihāra,* together with a *caitya* was built by the minister at *adhiṣṭhānāntare,* evidently at Śrīnagara and in this *vihāra,* the minister put a brownish image of Buddha Sugata which was brought from Magadha on the shoulders of an elephant.[47] Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya, another celebrated monarch of the Karkoṭa family, set up three images of Buddha and a large *vihāra* at his newly founded town Jayapura.[48]

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[41] Kak, *Handbook*, pp. 27-38.

[42] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, pp. 258 sqq. Dr. N. Dutt suggests that the Buddhist scriptures copied by Hiuen Tsang in the Kashmir court, formed the basis of the *Tripiṭaka* of the 7th century A.D., *Gilgit Manuscripts*, I, Intr, p. 37.

[43] *R. T.*, IV, 3.

[44] *R. T.*, IV, 188, 200.

Archaeological excavations carried on at Parihāsapura, the city founded by Lalitāditya, have brought to light Buddhist structures—a *stūpa,* a monastery and a *caitya.* The *stūpa* has been identified as the *stūpa* of Caṅkuṇa, the monastery with the Rājavihāra built by Lalitāditya and the *caitya* with a large *caitya* said to have been founded by the same monarch. Among the sculptures discovered at Parihāsapura, there are two images of Bodhisattva and one of Buddha.[49] All these, prove to the hilt the popularity of Buddhism in the days of the Karkoṭas.

The thriving state of Buddhism during the reign of the Karkoṭas, i.e., during the 7th or 8th centuries A.D. is also attested to by the evidence of the Chinese traveller Ou-kong. Ou-kong came to Kashmir in A.D. 759. He spent four years in the valley in pilgrimages to holy sites and in studying Sanskrit. He learnt the *Śīlas* and the *Vinayas* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins at the *Moung-ti-vihāra.* The other *vihāras* referred to by him are *Ngo-mi-to-po-wan, Ngo-nan-i, Ki-tche, Nago-ye-le, Je-je, Ye-li-te-le* and *Ko-toan.*[50] While Hiuen Tsang saw about one hundred *vihāras,* Ou-kong noticed more than three hundred

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[45] *R. T.,* IV, 200-203.

[46] *R. T.,* IV, 211.

[47] *R. T.,* IV, 213, 259-262.

[48] *R. T.,* IV, 507.

[49] Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir,* pp. 146-149.

[50] *J. A.* (1895), VI, pp. 341 sqq. *Mung-ti-vihāra* seems to be identical with a large *vihāra* said to have been built by Muktāpīḍa at Huskapura (*R. T.,* IV, 188), *Ngo-mi-to-po-wan* with Amṛtabhavana constructed by

(*Contd. next page*)

vihāras in Kashmir and innumerable *stūpas* and sacred images. This undoubtedly indicates a rise in the popularity of Buddhism in the valley during the period of the Karkoṭas.

Buddhism seems to have been overshadowed by the growing Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva faith which became predominant in the valley in the centuries following the Karkoṭa period. The dynasty of Utpala supplanted the Karkoṭas about the middle of the 9th century A.D. The founder of this dynasty, Avantivarman, (A.D. 855/56-883) was a staunch follower of Śiva and Viṣṇu and the architectural remains which have been discovered from the site of Avantipura, the town founded by the monarch, include some images of Viṣṇu, Śiva, and other Brahminical gods, but not a single figure of Buddha or Bodhisattva. But though Buddhism was in the background, the opinion cherished by some scholars that from the middle of the 9th century on till the advent of the 11th century, the Buddhists fell on evil days and all the kings were anti-Buddhistic in spirit[51] seems to be an extreme view yet to be established beyond doubt. Except Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950-958) and Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), no king of this period is known to have cherished any anti-Buddhistic feeling in their heart. As for Kṣemagupta, we learn from Kalhaṇa that he burnt down a Buddhist monastery named Jayendravihāra.[52] From this decaying *vihāra,* he took away the brass image of Buddha Sugata. The stones of the temple, he utilized for a Śiva temple in his own name.[53] Kṣemagupta further confiscated thirty-two villages which belonged to the burnt *vihāra* and gave them to Khaśa ruler.[54] But the wrath of a cruel eccentric king against a single particular Buddhist monastery should not be taken as an instance of systematic policy of religious persecution adopted by the State

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(From previous page)

Amṛtaprabhā, queen of Meghavāhana (*R. T.*, III, 11). *Ngo-nan-i* with Anaṅgabhavanavihāra founded by Anaṅgalekā, wife of Durlabhavardhana (*R. T.*, IV, 3), *Ki-tche* with Kṛtyāśramavihāra (*R. T.*, I, 147). Also see Stein, *R. T.* (Eng. tr.), Vol. I, pp. 26, 73 and 140.

[51] *Gilgit Manuscripts* (ed. N. Dutt), I, Intr. p. 45.

[52] *R. T.*, VI, 174.

[53] *R. T.*, VI, 172-173.

[54] *R. T.*, VI, 175.

against the Buddhists. Moreover, it may be noted, that if Kṣemagupta had followed an anti-Buddhistic policy, he would have destroyed many of the Buddhist vihāras of Kashmir. But as we learn from Kalhaṇa, the king burnt only a solitary Buddhist monastery; and this incident may suggest at most the king's ill-feelings towards a particular monastery which might have been guilty of some gross misdemeanour. It is unfair to infer from this single instance, that the king pursued a policy of anti-Buddhism, when we have no other information to support the view. A remarkably fine statue of the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi is now preserved in the Pratap Singh Museum, Śrīnagar. An inscription engraved at the base mentions its consecration in the reign of queen Diddā (A.D. 980-1003). That Buddha was not looked with disapproval in the 11th century A.D. receives further corroboration from the writings of Kṣemendra who says that during his time, the birth day of Buddha was observed with great ceremony in the valley.[55]

As for Harṣa, it may be said that the king was not merely an anti-Buddhist, but a man having no sympathy, for any religion whatsoever. If he plundered the statues of Buddha, he confiscated alike the images of the Brahminical gods and goddesses. And for all these works of plunder, spoliation and confiscation, the king was actuated not by his enmity towards any particular sect, but by his greed or rather need for money.

Buddhism received patronage from king Jayasiṁha, who ascended the throne of Kashmir in A.D. 1128. Many Buddhist *vihāras* were built or repaired during this period. He completed the construction of the Sullavihāra, which was started by his uncle, Uccala.[56] Another *vihāra,* built by the queen Ratnādevī, also received the king's care.[57] The king's minister Rilhaṇa

[55] *Saṁvatsare saptaviṁśe Vaīśākhasya sitodaye* |
Kṛteyaṁ kalpalatikā jina janmamahotsavē ||
Avadānakalpalatā, Introduction, verse 16.

According to the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* also, the birth day of Buddha was held in ancient Kashmir on the full moon day of Vaiśākha, *Nīlamata* (ed. De Vreese), verses, 684-689.

[56] *R. T.,* VIII, 3318.

[57] *R. T.,* VIII, 2402.

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constructed a *vihāra* in memory of his deceased wife Sussalā.[58] Sussalā was indeed a sincere follower of Buddha, as she is said to have built at the site of the Caṅkuṇavihāra, of which nothing but the name remained, a stone shrine, residences and other structures.[59] Cintā, the wife of Jayasiṁha's commander Udaya, built a *vihāra,* which included within it, five buildings.[60] One of the ministers of Jayasiṁha, Dhanya by name, commenced the construction of a *vihāra,* but could not complete the structure, due to his premature death. Then Jayasiṁha, the king himself, made arrangements for the completion of the building and for a permanent endowment.[61]

It is almost definite that Buddha was held in high honour in Kashmir upto the last days of the Hindu rule. A stone inscription, generally taken to have been dated A.D., 1197 has been discovered at Arigon (anc. Hāḍigrāma), about 15 miles south west of Śrīnagara. The inscription opens with a salutation to Buddha Avalokiteśvara and exalts him with glorious titles.[62]

Marco Polo (13th century) states that in his time Kashmir was pre-eminent among the idolatrous countries and it was the very original source from which idolatry had spread around. There were also a number of idolatrous abbeys and monasteries. The superiors who exercised the functions of the abbots in these monasteries were held in great reverence by the mass of the people.[63] If Yule's interpretation that the word 'Idolatry' is an expression meaning Buddhism[64] be accepted, then, we are to admit that the Buddhism enjoyed wide popularity in the valley as late as the end of the 13th century.

The place of Kashmir in the history of Buddhism was great indeed. From the moment Buddhism was preached in the valley, Kashmir became mistress of the Buddhist doctrine and particularly the citadel of the Sarvāstivāda school. She played a great role in the spread of Buddhism beyond India, to Kandahar and Kabul and Bactria and thence to Central Asia and China. Tibetan Buddhism also drew its inspiration from Kashmir.

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[58] *R. T.*, VIII, 2410-2411.

[59] *R. T.*, VIII, 2415.

[60] *R. T.*, VIII, 3352-53.

[61] *R. T.*, VIII, 3343-3344.

[62] *Namo Bhagavate Āryāvalokiteśvarāya Trailokyālokabhūtāya Lokābhavaccide Jagadānandacandrāya Lokanāthāya te namaḥ.*
Ep. Ind., IX, pp. 300 sqq.

[63] Yule, *Travels of Marco Polo*, I, pp. 166-67.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 168.

Śaivism

The history of the introduction of Śaivism in Kashmir is shrouded in mystery. Archaeologists have discovered traces of Śiva worship in the proto-historic Harappa culture. It is not known, whether the Śiva of Kashmir was an immigrant from the neighbouring Indus Valley or was of local origin. The conception of Rudra Śiva of the Vedic Aryans perhaps might have had some influence on the development and early growth of Śaivism in the valley, but any definite assertion on the point must be hazardous and risky.

Whatever might have been the origin of Śaivism in Kashmir, there is no doubt that Śiva as a popular deity was widely worshipped in the valley from a remote period. If Kalhaṇa is to be believed, there was a shrine of Śiva Vijayeśa even in pre-Aśokan days.[65] Aśoka himself built two temples of Śiva-Aśokeśvara[66] and was also a devotee of Śiva Bhūteśa.[67] Aśoka's son Jalauka was also a worshipper of Śiva. He made a vow that he would ever worship Śiva Vijayeśvara and Jyeṣṭheśa residing at Nandīśakṣetra.[68] He also erected a shrine of Śiva Jyeṣṭharudra at Śrīnagarī[69] and built a stone temple at Nandīkṣetra for Śiva Bhūteśa.[70] Next king Dāmodara II is said to have been crest jewel of Śiva worshippers.[71] The Hūṇa chief Mihirakula, who came into possession of the valley sometime in the 6th century

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[65] *R. T.*, I, 105-106.

[66] *R. T.*, I, 106.

[67] *R. T.*, 107.

[68] *R. T.*, I, 113.

[69] *R. T.*, I, 124.

[70] *R. T.*, I, 148.

[71] *R. T.*, I, 154.

A.D. founded at Śrīnagarī a shrine of Śiva Mihireśvara.[72] King Gokarṇa established a shrine of Śiva Gokarṇeśvara,[73] his son Narendrāditya Khiṅkhila of Śiva Bhūteśvara[74] and the latter's preceptor of Śiva Ugreśa.[75]

Tuñjīna I built a temple of Śiva Tuṅgeśvara.[76] A minister named Saṁdhimati became famous for his devotion to Śiva.[77] When this minister came to be king, he consecrated a large number of Śiva *liṅgas* and constructed two shrines of Śiva under the names of Saṁdhīśvara and Īśeśvara.[78]

King Śreṣṭhasena, also known as Pravarasena I, constructed the first shrine of Pravareśvara.[79] King Pravarasena II, who was a staunch follower of Śiva,[80] consecrated the *liṅga* of Pravareśvara.[81] Another king Raṇāditya was a votary of Śiva and erected temples in honour of his adored god.[82]

The account of the Śiva worship, as given above, has been gleaned principally from the first three books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and as such, can not claim to be wholly trustworthy. The facts furnished by Kalhaṇa, however, indicate in the main, the wide prevalence of the Śaiva cult in the valley from an early period.

While coming to the more sober portions of Kalhaṇa's work, we find innumerable references to the foundations of Śiva shrines, erection of temples in honour of Śiva, etc. These references, more reliable than the former ones, help us to portray the actual picture of Śaivism in later days.

The Karkoṭas came to occupy the throne of Kashmir in the

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[72] *R. T.*, I, 306. Mihirakula's devotion to Śiva is also borne out by his coins where the *triśūla* and the bull of Śiva appear and the legend runs as *Jayatu Vṛṣa dhvaja* see Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaevàl India*, p. 27.

[73] *R. T.*, I, 346.

[74] *R. T.*, I, 347.

[75] *R. T.*, I, 348.

[76] *R. T.*, II, 14.

[77] *R. T.*, II, 65.

[78] *R. T.*, II, 123-135.

[79] *R. T.*, III, 99.

[80] *R. T.*, III, 268-280.

[81] *R. T.*, III, 350.

[82] *R. T.*, III, 440-463.

7th century. Some members of this family were devoted to the cult of Śiva. Narendraprabhā, mother of Lalitāditya, built a shrine of Śiva Narendreśvara.[83] Lalitāditya erected a lofty temple of stone for Śiva Jyeṣṭharudra and made a grant of land and villages for the maintenance of the temple.[84] He also offered a large amount of money to the shrine of Śiva Bhūteśa.[85] The king's love for Śaivism was perhaps contagious and his minister Mitraśarman founded a shrine of Śiva Mitreśvara.[86] Ācārya Bhapaṭa constructed a shrine of Śiva under the name of Bhappaṭeśvara and many other shrines of Śiva called Rakchaṭeśa, etc. were put up by a host of people.[87] During the reign of Lalitāditya's grandson Jayāpīḍa, his chamberlain Āca built a shrine of Śiva Āceśvara.[88]

Śaivism received patronage also from the Utpalas, who succeeded the Karkoṭas. Avantivarman's minister Śūra built at Śūreśvarīkṣetra a temple in honour of Śiva and his consort.[89] His son Ratnavardhana erected a temple of Śiva Bhūteśvara.[90] The king Avantivarman founded at Avantipura a temple of Śiva Avantīśvara.[91] At the shrines of Tripureśvara, Bhūteśa, and Vijayeśa, three pedestals were fitted by the king with both conduits made of silver.[92] The king, moreover, regularly went to worship at the Śaiva shrines of Bhūteśvara and other places.[93]

Avantivarman's successor to the throne was his son Śaṁkaravarman. He too was a devotee of Śiva. In the town of Śaṁkarapura, founded by him, the king built two temples of Śaṁkaragaurīśa and Sugandheśa.[94] The latter temple was built in the name of Śaṁkaravarman's queen, Sugandhā who, evidently, like his husband, was a worshipper of Śiva. Śaṁkara's minister Ratnavardhana erected another temple of Sadāśiva Ratnavardhaneśa.[95]

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[83] *R. T.*, IV, 43.
[84] *R. T.*, IV, 190.
[85] *R. T.*, IV, 189.
[86] *R. T.*, IV, 209.
[87] *R. T.*, IV, 214.
[88] *R. T.*, IV, 513.
[89] *R. T.*, V, 37.
[90] *R. T.*, V, 40.
[91] *R. T.*, V, 45.
[92] *R. T.*, V, 46.
[93] *R. T.*, V, 48-49.
[94] *R. T.*, V, 158.

Śiva was worshipped with great devotion not only in the Karkoṭa and Utpala period, but also in the succeeding ages. Parvagupta, who was on the throne about the middle of the 10th century A.D., founded the shrine of Śiva Parvagupteśvara.[96] Another temple of Śiva Kṣemagaurīśvara was erected by the succeeding king Kṣemagupta.[97]

Among the members of the first Lohara dynasty, Saṁgrāmarāja obtained religious merit by restoring the famous shrine of Śiva Raṇeśvara.[98] Queen Sūryamatī founded the temple of Śiva Gaurīśvara[99] and also consecrated a second temple of Sadāśiva near the royal palace.[100] Her devotion towards Śiva was further marked by the consecration of *triśūlas, Bāṇaliṅgas,* and other sacred emblems.[101] Sūryamatī's husband, king Ananta, according to the evidence of Kalhaṇa, surpassed even the *munis* by his devotion to Śiva.[102] Ananta's son Kalaśa too was a staunch follower of Śiva. The stone temple of Śiva Vijayeśa which was formerly burnt down, was built anew by him.[103] At Tripureśvara, Kalaśa founded another temple of Śiva.[104] A third temple of the god was erected by him under the name of Kalaśeśvara.[105] All these temples were adorned with golden parasols and cups and the like.

Śaivism also flourished under the second Lohara dynasty. Rilhaṇa, a minister of Jayasiṁha, built at Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna, a shrine of Śiva Rilhaṇeśvara.[106] Another minister of the king, Bhuṭṭa by name, consecrated a Śiva image called Bhūṭṭeśvara.[107]

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[95] R. T., V. 163.
[96] *R. T.*, VI, 137.
[97] *R. T.*, VI, 173.
[98] *R. T.*, VII, 115.
[99] *R. T.*, VII, 180.
[100] *R. T.*, VII, 181.
[101] *R. T.*, VII, 185.
[102] *R. T.*, VII, 201.
[103] *R. T.*, VII, 525.
[104] *R. T.*, VII, 526.
[105] *R. T.*, VII, 527.
[106] *R. T.*, VIII, 2409.
[107] *R. T.*, VIII, 2432.

Prince Saṅgiya, a chief from the Ṭakka territory, founded a *liṅga* after his own name.[108] Mankha, the brother of *sāṁdhivigrahika* Alaṁkāra, constructed a shrine of Śrīkaṇṭha Śiva along with a *maṭha*.[109] A shrine of Śiva Rudreśvara was erected by Jayasiṁha's queen Raḍḍā.[110] The virtuous king Siṁhadeva bowed to Śaṁkara, the lord of Gaurī, and caused Vijayeśvara to be bathed in milk purchased with one lakh pieces of gold (*niṣka*).[111]

Some of the Śaiva establishments, referred to by Kalhaṇa, have been actually found out by archaeological explorations. The temple of Śiva Avantīśvara, founded by Avantivarman with massive walls now stands sadly mutilated just outside the village of Jaubror. The temples of Śaṁkaragaurīśa and Sugandheśa have been identified with two ruined temples of Paṭan. A temple at Narannāg has been identified by Stein with the Jyeṣṭheśa temple of Lalitāditya and another large temple in the same site with Bhūteśvara.[112] Most of the Śaiva images whether in his phallic or in his human form, have been destroyed. Among the few early sculptural representations of the god, which have survived up to date, mention may be made of the following: seated figure of Lakulīśa form of Śiva at Pāndreṭhan,[113] several sculptured reliefs of Śiva at the temple of Payer including Śiva seated cross-legged on throne under the canopy of an overhanging tree and surmounted by votaries, Śiva Bhairava pursuing a human being, six-headed dancing Śiva, three-headed Śiva seated cross-legged,[114] a large human-faced Śiva-liṅga at Bārāmūla,[115] a three-headed Śiva image and a three-headed Śiva in alto-relievo from Avantipura.[116]

Early Kashmir Śaivism was of the Pāśupata sect.[117] According to a tradition recorded in the *Mahābhārata,* the Pāśupata doctrine was preached first by Śiva Śrīkaṇṭha. It is interesting to note that Śiva Śrīkaṇṭha was also regarded in the valley as the promulgator of Śivāgama or Āgamānta Śaivism[118] which included within itself the system of Pāśupata.

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[108] *R. T.*, VIII, 3348.

[109] R. T., VIII, 3354.

[110] *R. T.*, VIII, 3389-3391.

[111] Jonarāja *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī* (Bombay ed.), verse 127.

[112] *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (Eng. tr. by Stein), Vol. I, p. 194.

[113] R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p. 114.

[114] *Ibid.*, pp. 126-127.

[115] *Ibid.*, p. 154.

[116] Kak, *Handbook*, pp. 55-56.

[117] *R. T.*, I, 17-48, III, 267, 460, V, 404.

The early Kashmir Śaivism, based on a number of *Tantras* seems to have preached a dualistic doctrine. From the 8th or 9th century, however, the Śaiva system of Kashmir assumed a new character. Based on pure *advaita tatva,* it henceforth began to preach a sort of idealistic monism. The new system took the name of *Trika Śāstra.* The founder of this new doctrine was a holy sage, named Vasugupta, who probably lived in the early years of the 9th century A.D.[119]

The new form of Kashmir Śaivism, *Trikaśāstra* or *Trika śāsana,* as it was called, was subdivided into three principal classes, the *Āgama Śāstra,* the *Spanda Śāstra,* and the *Pratyabhiñjā Śāstra.* The *Āgama Śāstra* consisted of a number of old *Tantras* such as *Mālinīvijaya, Svacchanda, Vijñāna Bhairava, Ānanda Bhairava, Ucchusma Bhairava, Mṛgendra, Mātaṅga, Netra, Naiśvāsa, Svāyambhuva, Rudra-yāmala,* etc. These existed even before the coming of the *Trika* and *Śiva Sūtras* which are said to have been revealed by Śiva himself to the sage Vasugupta.

The principles of the *Trika* system which found its first expression in the *Śiva Sūtras* were amplified and given clearer expositions in the *Spanda Śāstra* or *Spanda Kārikās* which was probably a work of Kallaṭa (9th century A.D.) and probably based on a work called *Spandāmṛta* written by Vasugupta himself.[120]

A philosophical treatise, supporting the doctrines of the *Trika* by critical arguments and reasonings, *vicāra* and *manana,* was written by Siddha Somānanda, probably a disciple of the sage Vasugupta and this came to be known as *Pratyabhiñjā.*

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[118] J. C. Chatterjee, *Kashmir Śaivism,* p. 36.

[119] Vasugupta's disciple Kallaṭa is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as a contemporary of Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883) in *R. T.,* V, 66. Hence Vasugupta seems to have lived somewhat earlier than Kallaṭa, say in the first quarter of the 9th century A.D.

[120] J. C. Chatterjee, *Kashmir Śaivism,* p. 32.

The Advaita Śaivism of Kashmir, first propounded by Vasugupta, took its origin about the 9th century A.D. To Kallaṭa must be given the credit of spreading the knowledge by writing explanatory notes on them. Kallaṭa's work was carried on through ages by his disciples and some of the writers of the succeeding period wrote several treatises on it.

When Advaita Śaivism grew up in Kashmir, it had a formidable rival in the sister religion of Buddhism. To combat the rival it needed a philosophy to support it and this was supplied by the *Pratyabhijñā Śāstra*. The work of Somānanda was taken up and expanded into greater details by his successors Utpala, Abhinavagupta, Kṣemarāja, Yogarāja and Jayaratha. The lamp of Śaivism burnt steadily in the valley throughout the period of the Hindu rule and even afterwards; as late as the 18th century A.D. a work on the *Pratyabhijñā Śāstra* was composed by a writer named Śivopādhyāya.

It seems that the idealistic monism of the *Trika* system being exclusively philosophical and ethical, remained confined to a particular class of learned religious-minded people only. The mass kept themselves attached to their old forms of Śiva worship, and perhaps had little to do with the idealistic school. In Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* we have a large number of references to Śaiva establishments, etc., but there is no hint of the *Trika* system. If Kalhana is too believed, the old traditional Pāśupata Śaivism prevailed in the valley in the 11th century A.D. and even afterwards.[121]

Vaiṣṇavism

The cult of Viṣṇu seems to have existed in Kashmir from a very early period. Lack of material, however, prevents us from tracing its origin and early character.

The earliest historical reference to the worship of Viṣṇu occurs in the pages of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* where it is said that

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[121] *R. T.*, VII, 44. The presence of Kāpālin sect in the valley as evidenced from Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* III, 369, VII, 44 cuts at the root the theory of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar that Kashmir was free from the scenes of ghastly Kāpālism or Kālāmukhism, the wild aberrations of human intellect and spririt, *Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems,* pp. 129-132.

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an imageof Viṣṇu Jayasvāmin was consecrated by king Pravarasena II.[122] Pravarasena II might have lived about the end of the 6th century A.D. Another image of Viṣṇu Raṇasvāmin was consecrated by king Raṇāditya at or near his capital Pravarapura.[123] Raṇāditya, who is credited with a reign of three hundred years is undoubtedly a legendary figure in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle. But the historicity of the temple of Viṣṇu Raṇasvāmin is amply proved by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's mention of it in the *Āgamaḍambara*[124] and Kalhaṇa's reference to it in his fifth book where he speaks of a visit paid to Raṇasvāmin by Cakravarman's queen.[125] Mankha (12th century A.D.) in his *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* refers to his father's worship of Raṇasvāmin.[126] Jonarāja also mentions Raṇasvāmin Viṣṇu in his commentary and describes it as '*Śrīpravarapurapradhānadevatā.*'

With the accession of the Karkoṭas to the throne of Kashmir in the 7th century A.D., Viṣṇu, the adored deity of the family, came to occupy a prominent position in the Kashmir pantheon. A son of king Durlabhavardhana, called Malhaṇa, built the shrine of Viṣṇu Malhaṇasvāmin,[127] while the king himself consecrated at Śrīnagarī the shrine of Viṣṇu Durlabhasvāmin.[128] Durlabhavardhana's grandson Candrāpīḍa, who lived in the early part of the 8th century A.D., consecrated the shrine of Viṣṇu Tribhuvanasvāmin.[129] His preceptor, Mihiradatta, built a temple of Viṣṇu Gambhīrasvāmin and his city-prefect Calitaka founded a temple of Viṣṇu Calitasvāmin.[130]

The illustrious Lalitāditya came to the throne of Kashmir not long after the death of Candrāpīḍa Vajrāditya. He too was a great devote of Lord Viṣṇu. Resolved upon the conquest of the world, he built a shrine of Keśava Viṣṇu in the early part of his reign.[131] At Huṣkapura, he built a splendid shrine of Viṣṇu Muktāsvāmin[132] and of the town of Lokapuṇya with some villages he made an offering to Viṣṇu.[133] In the town of Parihāsapura, which the monarch constructed in honour of his adored deity, he built the glorious silver statue of Viṣṇu Parihāsakeśava.[134] At Huṣkapura, another famous image of Viṣṇu Muktākeśava, was made out of gold.[135] A fourth one, that of boar incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu, was founded by him under the name of Viṣṇu Mahāvarāha.[136] Lalitāditya consecrated two other silver images of his beloved god, one under the title of Govardhanadhara,[137] and the other under the name of Rāmasvāmin.[138] The latter inage was placed in a stone temple which stood by the *temple* of Viṣṇu Parihāsakeśava. Garuḍa, the *vāhana* of Viṣṇu was also a great favourite of Lalitāditya.[139]

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[122] *R. T.*, III, 350-351.

[123] *R. T.*, III, 144-158.

[124] '*Tadatra praviśya bhagavantamaśeṣajana śaranaṁ Raṇasvāminaṁ praṇipatya tataḥ sabhāmadhyamadhyāsisye*', Act IV, *Āgamaḍambara*.

[125] *R. T.*, V, 394.

[126] *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, iii, 4.

[127] *R. T.*, IV, 4.

[128] *R. T.*, IV, 6.

[129] *R. T.*, IV, 79.

[130] *R. T.*, IV, 81.

Lalitāditya's zeal for Vaiṣṇavism must have shed its light upon those who were near him and who were driven to the same spiritual inclinations. His queen Kamalāvatī put up a large silver image of Kamalākeśava[140] and the king of Lāṭa, named Kayya, who was probably a feudatory of Lalitāditya, founded a shrine of Viṣṇu Kayyasvāmin.[141]

Some of the later Karkoṭa kings also adhered to the faith of Viṣṇu. Jayāpīda, the grandson of Lalitāditya built the town of Jayapura, where, as Kalhaṇa poetically describes, 'Keśava showing his quadruple form as well as reclining on the

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[131] *R. T.*, IV, 183.

[132] *R. T.*, IV, 188.

[133] *R. T.*, IV, 193.

[134] *R. T.*, *IV*, 195, 202.

[135] *R. T.*, IV, 196, 201.

[136] *R. T.*, IV, 197.

[137] *R. T.*, IV, 198. In Govardhanadhara, Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa seems to have been identified with the cow-herd-god, Gopālā-Kṛṣṇa.

[138] *R. T.*, IV, 275. The cult of Rāma probably did not exist in the 8th century A.D. and Rāmasvāmin seems to have been worshipped as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

[139] *R. T.*, IV, 199.

[140] *R. T.*, IV, 208.

[141] *R. T.*, IV, 209.

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serpent Śeṣa, has truly taken up his abode, abandoning his residence in Viṣṇu's world'.[142] Jayāpīḍa's mother Amṛtaprabhā built a temple of Amṛtakeśava for the deliverance of her dead son.[143] During the reign of Ajitāpīḍa, the ministers Utpala, Padma, Dharma, Kalyāṇa and Mamma built temples of Viṣṇu under the names of Utpalasvāmin, Padmasvāmin, Dharmasvāmin, Kalyāṇasvāmin and Mammasvāmin, respectively.[144]

Viṣṇu was also worshipped by the members of the Utpala dynasty who succeeded the Karkoṭas. Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883), the first king of the dynasty built the shrines of Viṣṇu Avantisvāmin, even before he became a king.[145] His brother, Śūravarman founded a temple of Śūravarmasvāmin and a *gokula*.[146] Another brother of the king, Samara founded for Keśava in his quadruple form a temple called Samarasvāmin.[147] Mahodaya, the chief door keeper of Śūra consecrated a shrine of Viṣṇu Mahodayasvāmin,[148] while the king's minister Prabhākaravarman built a temple of Viṣṇu Prabhākarasvāmin.[149] Lastly, Suyya, the irrigation minister of Avantivarman built at the new confluence of Sindhu and Vitastā a temple of Hṛṣīkeśa Yogaśāyin.[150]

The popularity of the cult of Viṣṇu in the happy valley during the 8th and 9th centuries is further attested to by a number of images discovered from various ancient ruins. These include a few busts and heads of Viṣṇu which have been recovered from Vijabror, three-faced Viṣṇu figures carved on the walls of the Mārtaṇḍa temple, relief sculptures of Caturbhuja Viṣṇu and Viṣṇu seated between consorts hailing from the ruins of Andarkoṭh and four-headed Viṣṇu images from Avantipura and the surroundings.[151]

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[142] *R. T.*, IV, 508. In the quadruple form of Keśava we can trace the *vyūhavāda* of the Pāñcarātra school whereas Keśava reclining on serpent Śeṣa points to the identity of Nārāyaṇa with Vāsudeva.

[143] *R. T.*, IV, 659.

[144] *R. T.*, IV, 695-698.

[145] *R. T.*, V, 45.

[146] *R. T.*, V, 23. *Gokula* seems to have been a designation for a certain ing place of Kṛṣṇa-Gopāla. The *gokulas* of Kashmir were provided with meadows for the cows' unobstructed free grazing (*R. T.*, VIII, 2436-2437). It may be mentioned in this connection that according to Hindu mythology cowherd Kṛṣṇa assumed the form of avatāra for killing demons in the cow settlement.

Hari Vaṁśa, 5876-5878; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, ch. 98, verses 100-102; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, II, 7.

[147] *R. T.*, V, 25.

[148] *R. T.*, V, 28.

[149] *R. T.*, V, 30.

[150] *R. T.*, V, 100.

The development of Vaiṣṇavism in Kashmir, from the 10th century onwards, is evidenced from Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Queen Sugandhā (A.D. 904-906) built a temple of Viṣṇu Gopāla Keśava and her daughter-in-law Nandā founded a temple of Nandikeśava.[152] A temple of Viṣṇu Meruvardhanasvāmī was built by Pārtha's (A.D. 906—921) minister, Meruvardhana.[153] Yaśaskara (A.D. 939—948) started the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu Yaśaskarasvāmin, which, when he died, was left incomplete. The construction, however, was completed by Parvagupta (A.D. 949-950). Bhaṭṭa Phalguṇa, a councillor of Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950-958), founded the shrine of Viṣṇu Phalguṇasvāmin.[154] About the same time, Bhīma, the illustrious monarch of the Śāhi dynasty, who was the maternal grandfather of Kṣemagupta's queen Diddā, built a high temple of Bhīmakeśava.[155] About the end of the third quarter of the 10th century A.D. queen Diddā, founded a series of Viṣṇu shrines. The temple of Abhimanyusvāmin, she built to increase her deceased son Abhimanyu's merit,[156] while the shrine of Viṣṇu Siṁhasvāmin was erected by her, under the name of her father Siṁharāja.[157] The queen further built two temples under the name of Viṣṇu Diddāsvāmin.[158]

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[151] *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1915-16, p. 62; *Handbook*, pp. 48-52, 61-63; *Ancient Monuments*, p. 162.

[152] *R. T.*, V, 244-245.

[153] *R. T.*, V, 267-268.

[154] *R. T.*, VI, 140-142.

[155] *R. T.*, VI, 178.

[156] *R. T.*, VI, 299.

[157] *R. T.*, VI, 304.

[158] *R. T.*, VI, 300-302.

The iconoclast Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) destroyed a large number of Hindu and Buddhist images. The Viṣṇu images desecrated by the dissolute king included the famous Parihāsakeśava. But king Uccala, who stepped into his shoes in the early years of the 12th century A.D., put up a new image of Parihāsakeśava.[159] He also adorned the shrine of Viṣṇu Tribhuvanasvāmin with *śukāvalī,* which Harṣa had carried off.[160] Lastly, he restored the decayed temple of the ancient shrine of Viṣṇu Cakradhara.[161] All these are indications enough of the king's love and admiration for Vaiṣṇavism.

Vaiṣṇavism was popular even after Uccala's death. Ratnāvalī, the queen of Jayasiṁha established Vaikunṭhamaṭha and other pious buildings.[162] The *gokula,* erected by her, far excelled the *gokulas* erected previously.[163] Alaṁkāra, the superintendent of Jayasiṁha's great treasury (*vṛhadgañja*) was also a worshipper of Viṣṇu.[164] Among the later Hindu kings who professed Vaiṣṇavism, Jonarāja mentions Rāmadeva, who renewed the Viṣṇu temple at Utpalapura[165] and Udayanadeva who gave all golden ornaments in his treasury to Viṣṇu.[166]

In the Vaiṣṇavism of Kashmir, we find a synthesis of the different Vaiṣṇava cults, which were current in ancient India. In it seems to have mingled, the faith of the Vedic Viṣṇu, the system of the Pāñcarātra school, the religion of the Satvats and the faith in the cowherd god Gopāla Kṛṣṇa. Rāma was worshipped as an incarnation of Viṣṇu,[167] but there is no definite evidence of the existence of Rāma-cult in early Kashmir.

Among the various incarnations of Viṣṇu, Varāha (boar), Kṛṣṇa, and Nṛsiṁha (man-lion) were most popular. Lalitāditya

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[159] *R. T.*, VIII, 79.

[160] *R. T.*, VIII, 80.

[161] *R. T.*, VIII, 78.

[162] *R. T.*, VIII, 2433.

[163] *R. T.*, VIII, 2436

[164] *R. T.*, VIII, 2425.

[165] Jonarāja (Bombay. ed), verse 111.

[166] *Ibid,* 265.

[167] *R. T.*, IV, 275; a perusal of the *Nīlmatapurāṇa* where mention is made of the worship of Rāma, also points to the same conclusion.

built a temple of Mahāvarāha[168] and iconograhic representations of boar, man and lion-faced Viṣṇu come from the temple of Mārtaṇḍa (8th century A.D.) as well as from the ruins of Avantipura (9th century A.D.). Rāma, as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, seems to have been worshipped in the 8th century A.D. The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* refers to the celebration of Buddha's birth day festival,[169] and this was a step towards the Buddha becoming an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. The *avatāravāda* of Kashmir was, however, thoroughly systematized by the 11th century A.D. and in Kṣemendra's *Daśāvatāracarita,* we find a list of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu under the names of Matsya, Kurma, Buddha and Karkya.[170]
Varāha, Narasiṁha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Śrīrāma, Śrīkṛṣṇa,

Minor gods and goddesses of the Hindu Religion

Besides Viṣṇu and Śiva, there were many other minor Hindu gods and goddesses in the early Kashmirian pantheon. The most important of them include Sūrya, Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa, Agni, Lakṣmī, Durgā, Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Kāmadeva, of whose worship we have real literary evidence; some of their images too have survived.

The worship of Sūrya was probably brought into the valley from Iran at an early period. The Śakas and the Kuṣāṇas who ruled over Kashmir in the early centuries of the Christian era, seem to have been responsible for its introduction. Paucity of evidence, however, prevents us from making any definite assertion on the point or from tracing the early character of the cult.

Raṇāditya, a king of ancient Kashmir, is said in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* to have built at the village of Siṁharotsikā a temple of Mārtaṇḍa, which became famous everywhere under the name of Raṇapurasvāmin.[171] But Raṇāditya is a legendary character in the ancient history of Kashmir and the village Siṁharotsikā or the Mārtaṇḍa temple, said to have been founded by him, cannot be located. In the 8th century A.D., Lalitāditya erected the shrine of Āditya at the town of Lalitapura.[172] He built another massive stone temple of Sūrya under the name of Mārtaṇḍa,[173] the ruins of which have survived.

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[168] *R. T.*, IV, 197.

[169] *Nīlamatapurāṇa* ed. De Vreese, verses 684-689.

[170] Kṣemendra, *Daśāvatāracarita* (ed. Durgaprasad and Parab, Kāvyamālā, 26, Bombay. 1891).

[171] *R. T.*, III, 467.

The Sun worship continued to be in vogue in Kashmir long after the death of Lalitāditya. King Śūravarman II (A.D. 939) paid homage to the temple of the Sun-god Jayasvāmin.[174] The copper image of Sūrya, called Tāmrasvāmin, was one of the most celebrated shrines of the valley in the 11th century A.D.[175] Kalhaṇa's remarks that Kashmirian king Kalaśa (A.D. 1063–1089) sought refuge with Mārtaṇḍa to have his life[176] and presented a gold statue at the god's feet,[177] prove the popularity of Sun-worship at that time. Kalaśa's son Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), who destroyed a large number of divine images, spared the image of Mārtaṇḍa, either out of respect or out of fear.[178]

The ruins of the temple of Mārtaṇḍa clearly show with what grandeur and pomp, love and devotion, the god was worshipped. No image of the Sun-god has yet been recovered from any part of the valley. There is, however, in the right panel of the eastern wall of the ante-chamber of the temple of Mārtaṇḍa, a representation of Aruṇa, the charioteer of Sūrya, holding the reins of his seven horses.

Kārttikeya worship in early Kashmir is borne out by the discovery of a fine six armed image of the generallisimo.[179] Though the image can not be ascribed to any definite chronological setting, its bold execution indicates a period round about the 9th century A.D. Another standing figure of Kumāra, along with an Ardhanārīśvara image, has been found among the ruins of Avantipura[180] and may be dated to the period of Avantivarman's rule (A.D. 855/56-883). The *Nīlamatapurāṇa,* which was probably composed in the 8th century A.D. refers that the worship of Kārttikeya was performed on the 6th of lunar *Caitra* every year and this was supposed to ensure the welfare and safety of the children of Kashmir[181] In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* there is mention of the foundation of one Skandabhavanavihāra by a Kashmirian minister Skandagupta.[182] Though at a comparatively modern period the place was associated with the worship of Kārttikeya, Stein is probably correct in his assumption that in early times it was a Buddhist *vihāra,* and had no relation with the deity of Kumāra.[183] But even then, Skanda, the very name of the founder of the *vihāra,* seems to suggest his personal association with the god.

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[172] *R. T.*, IV, 187.
[173] *R. T.*, IV, 192.
[174] *R. T.*, V, 449.
[175] *R. T.*, VII, 696, 709.
[176] *R. T.*, VII, 709.
[177] *R. T.*, VII, 715.
[178] *R. T.*, VII, 1096.
[179] Kak, *Handbook*, p. 66.

Ganeśa, the brother of Skanda according to the Hindu mythology, was one of the popular gods of the valley of Kashmir. According to Kalhaṇa an image of Vināyaka Bhīmasvāmin existed as early as the days of Pravarasena II (*c.* 6th century A.D.) and received regular worship.[184] A stone image of Gaṇeśa, along with an Ardhanārīśvara image, mention of which has already been made, was found amidst the ruins of Avantipura and may be dated to the second half of the 9th century A.D.[185] Several terracotta plaques, containing the figure of the elephant-headed god, evidently works of local craftsmanship have also been recovered from the site of Avantipura.[186] That Avantipura was a centre of Gaṇeśa-worship receives further corroboration from Kṣemendra who says that bowls of sweets offered to Lord Gaṇeśa were resold in the town of Avantipura.[187] We learn from the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* that the 8th of the darker Āṣāḍha of every year was dedicated to the worship of Gaṇeśa and went by the name of Vināyaka-aṣṭamī.[188] The worship of Vināyaka had also to be performed on the eve of the anointing ceremony of the king.[189]

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[180] *Ann. Rep., A.S.I.,* 1913-14, p. 53.

[181] *Nīlamatapurāṇa* (ed. De. Vreese), verses 647-649.

[182] *R. T.,* III, 380.

[183] *R. T.,* (tr. Stein), Vol. II, p. 340

[184] *R. T.,* III, 352.

[185] *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.,* 1913-14, p. 53.

[186] *Ibid.,* p. 54.

[187] *Samayamātṛkā,* II, 77.

No sculptural representation of Agni or Fire god has yet been discovered from Kashmir. A passage from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, however, refers to the worship of the Fire god and records that king Uccala's father Malla, observed from his earliest time the cult of a sacred fire.[190] As Stein has pointed out, there was probably a shrine of the god of Fire Svayambhū at Suyam, a place situated about half a mile from the present village of Nichhom.[191] The temple of fire god Svayambhū was destroyed, it may be presumed, by Harṣa and the decayed building was restored by Uccala.[192] King Uccala is also said to have started once on a pilgrimage to Svayambhū.[193]

Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth, was quite a popular deity. King Pravarasena II (6th century A.D.) is credited with the establishment of five shrines of the goddess Śrī.[194] An image of Lakṣmī has come from the historic town of Vijabror, modern Brar.[195] From stylistic consideration, the sculpture may be assigned to about the 6th century A.D. Another beautiful stone figure of the goddess seated on a throne, supported by a pair of lions, with elephants on each side pouring water over her head, has been discovered from the Avantisvāmī temple, and is apparently of the 9th century A.D. Kalhaṇa records that during the reign of Unmattāvānti (A.D. 937—939), a Brahmaṇa of well-known valour, named Rakka, raised an image of the goddess Śrī under the appellation of Rakkajayādevī.[196]

Worship of Śakti, the energetic principle, seems to have been widely prevalent. In the worship of goddess Durgā, who is but an embodiment of Śakti, animal sacrifices played an important part.[197] Goddess Śāradā was one of the most celebrated deities of the valley in early times [198] and she was nothing but 'Śakti embodying three separate manifestations.'[199] References to 'Mātṛcakra' are frequently met with in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[200] and sculptured images of *sapta mātṛkās,* such as Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Indrānī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī and Cāmuṇḍī have been recovered from Pāndreṭhan.[201] A life-size separate sculpture of Vārāhī, representing a young woman with the face of Varāha, discovered among the ruins of Kashmir, is now preserved in the Lalmandi Museum, Śrīnagara.[202] Though the *sapta mātṛkās* were originally Śivaite in origin, there is no doubt that afterwards they became the actual cult emblems of the devout Śāktas.

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[188] *Nīlamata* (ed. De Vreese), verses 698-700.
[189] *Ibid.*, verse, 847.
[190] *R. T.*, VII, 1474.
[191] *R. T.*, (tr. Stein), Vol. I, footnotes on I, 34.
[192] *R. T.*, VIII, 78.
[193] *R. T.*, VIII, 250.
[194] *R. T.*, III, 353.
[195] Kak, *Handbook*, p. 58.
[196] *R. T.*, V, 426.

Representations of the goddess Gaṅgā, sometimes accompanied by the goddess Yamunā, are found among the old sculptures of the valley,[203] but they do not seem to have any particular cult associated with them.

Two similarly sculptured relief found in the Avantisvāmī temple have been generally interpreted as representations of the god Viṣṇu accompanied by Lakṣmī and another goddess (Bhūmi ?) .[204] But according to Vogel, the amorous attitude of the central personage and his attributes, a bow and an arrow ending in a flower, indicate that here he have an inconographic representation of Kāmadeva seated between his wives Rati and Prīṭī.[205] There is literary evidence to Kāmadeva's popularity in ancient Kashmir. According to the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* the 13th of lunar *Caitra* was devoted to the worship of Kāmadeva.[206]

[197] *R. T.,* III, 83.

[198] *R. T.,* I, 37, IV, 325, V, 469, VIII, 2556. Alberuni, *India* (tr. Sachau), I, p. 117; *Vikramāṅkadevacarita,* XVIII, 5; Jonarāja (Bombay ed.), 1056-71.

[199] Stein, *R. T.* (Eng. tr.), Vol. II, p. 28

[200] *R. T.,* I, 122, 330-335, 348, III, 99.

[201] Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir,* p. 116.

[202] *R. T.* (tr. R. S. Pandit), p. 20, foot notes.

[203] Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir,* pp. 120, 121, 124, 133.

[204] Sahni, *Ann. Rep.* A.S.I., 1913-14, p. 46 and pl. XXVII figs. d and e.; Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir,* p. 122.

[205] *Ann. Bib. Art and Archaeology* (Leiden, 1933), p. 24.

[206] *Nīlamata* (ed. De Vreese), 655-658.

CHAPTER VII

SANSKRIT LITERATURE

OF THE EARLIEST Sanskrit compositions of Kashmir, not a single has survived which may be dated with certainty to a period prior to the 6th century A.D.[1] But the highly developed literary style found in the works of the eighth century and onwards must have been the product of a long period of culture. In fact, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* speaks of many of these poets who flourished long before and who thought and wrote with ability on different branches of literature. One of them, Vasunanda, a ruler of the valley, is said to have composed a well-known work on erotics (*smaraśāstra*).[2] No work of Vasunanda is, however, extant. Another Kashmirian named Candaka is said to have been a great poet,[3] though no specific work is attributed to him. It is not unlikely that he is the same Candaka to whom some verses are ascribed in Ballabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*.[4] Perhaps, he may be also identical with the writer Candra, mentioned by the Chinese traveller It-sing. Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* deals at some length with the career and activities of one Mātṛgupta who ruled Kashmir for a while. He was a poet and a contemporary of Pravarasena II (*c.* A.D. 580) of Kashmir and Vikarmāditya Harṣa of Ujjayinī (*c.* 6th century A.D.).[5] Some scholars have endeavoured to prove his identity with the great Kālidāsa.[6] The arguments put forward by them may be summed up in the following points:—

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[1] Some Sanskrit Buddhist literary compositions were no doubt written in the Kuṣāṇa period, of which the Tibetan and Chinese writers tell us, but nearly all of them are now lost.

[2] *R. T.*, I, 337.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, 16.

[4] *Subhāṣitāvalī* (ed. Peterson), 32, 66, 69., 1629, 1916, 2275.

[5] *R. T.*, III, 129 sqq.

[6] Bhau Daji, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (1861), pp. 208; Max Müller, *India*, pp. 312-347.

(1) 'Mātṛ' is same as 'Kālī' and 'Gupta' is same as 'Dāsa'.

(2) Tradition says that Vikramāditya bestowed half of his kingdom on Kālidāsa. This agrees very well with the fact narrated by Kalhaṇa that king Vikramāditya of Ujjain made a gift of Kashmir to Mātṛgupta.

(3) The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa speaks of a large number of poets, some of whom like Vākpatirāja and Bhavabhūti lived beyond the borders of Kashmir, but it never makes any reference to Kālidāsa, who was undoubtedly the most famous of all.

(4) The illustrations of Kālidāsa are chiefly derived from the natural beauty of Kashmir; we may presume that he was an inhabitant of that province.

(5) Like Kālidāsa, who made a faithful portrayal of his sorrowful feelings of separation from his beloved in the *Meghadūta*, Mātṛgupta is also known to have lived away from his wife and home.

(6) The verse No. 252 in Book III of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the composition of which is ascribed by Kalhaṇa to Mātṛgupta, runs as follows :

Nākāramudvahasi naiva vikatthase tvaṁ :
ditsāṁ na sūcayasi muñcasi satphalāni |
nih śabdavarṣaṇa bhivāṁbudharasya rājan :
saṁlakṣyate phalata eva tava prasādaḥ ||

The verse is very similar to verse No. 113 of the *Meghadūta* and conveys the same meaning.

(7) According to tradition, Kālidāsa wrote a poem called *Setukāvya* in Prākṛt at the request of Pravarasena. Tradition also says that Pravarasena II of Kashmir constructed a bridge of boats across the Vitastā.[7] It is possible that Mātṛgupta wrote the poem at the request of the Kashmirian king Pravarasena II who

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[7] Perhaps Bāṇa refers to it in his *Harṣacarita* when he says—
Kīrtiḥ Pravarasenasya prayātā kumudojjvalā |
Sāgarasya paraṁ pāraṁ kapiseneva setunā ||

occupied the throne of Kashmir, when Mātṛgupta retired to Banaras.

(8) By astronomical calculations, some writers have tried to prove that Kālidāsa lived in the middle of the 6th century A.D.[8] This is in conformity with the date of Mātṛgupta who, being a contemporary of Vikarmāditya Harṣa of Malwa and Pravarasena II of Kashmir, must be assigned to the end of the 6th century.

The reasons in favour of the identification of Mātṛgupta with Kālidāsa, however, are not convincing. It is inexplicable why the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* should refer to Kālidāsa by the pseudonym Mātṛgupta. Ānandavardhana and several other Kashmirian writers quote verses from Kālidāsa, but never identify him with Mātṛgupta. In none of the works of Kālidāsa there is any mention of Mātṛgupta. Secondly, Kalhaṇa refers only to such poets as had some connection with the affairs of Kashmir Bhavabhūti and Vākpati are mentioned, as they were court poets of an antagonist of a Kashmirian king. On the other hand, such great poets as Vālmīki and Vedavyāsa have not been mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Probably, Kālidāsa had never anything to do with the kings of Kashmir and this may be the reason of Kalhaṇa's silence over him. The subject matter of *Meghadūta* does not invariably indicate that its author lived in separation from his wife. It is not always safe to attribute the events of the life of the hero to the life of the author. The mere similarity in the subject matter of two verses also cannot indicate the identity of their authors. Kālidāsa might have written a poem entitled *Setuvandhakāvya* at the request of Pravarsena, but this Pravarasena might be the Vākāṭaka king of that name and that would make Kālidāsa a contemporary of Vikramāditya Candragupta II. Lastly, the method of reaching at a specified date of history by means of astronomical calculations has not been generally successful. Even if it be a fact that Kālidāsa flourished in the middle of the 6th century A.D., that is no sure reason for identifying him with Mātṛgupta.

[8] P. C. Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, pp. 263-278.

Mātṛgupta, however, appears to have been a historical character, who lived in Kashmir, if not at the end of the 6th century A.D., at least in an earlier period. His commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* is referred to in Sundaramiśra's *Nāṭyapradīpa*[9] Kṣemendra quotes the opinions of Mātṛgupta in one of his work.[10] Some of the verses have also found place in Vallabhadeva's anthology.[11]

In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*,[12] Kalhaṇa tells his readers that king Mātṛgupta honoured the poet Meṇṭha, for composing the poem *Hayagrīvavadha*, by presenting a golden dish to be placed below it, lest its flavour might escape. Honoured by such an appreciation Bhartṛmeṇṭha thought richer rewards needless. The poem *Hayagrīvavdha* is lost. The date of Meṇṭha is also not known for certain. But Meṇṭha or Bhartṛmeṇṭha seems to have been a person of fame. He receives the honour of being placed second in the spiritual lineage of Vālmīki.[13] The Kashmirian writer Mankha places him with Subandhu, Bhāravī and Bāṇa. The first verse of his great poem *Hayagrīvavadha* which runs as

āsīddaityo Hayagrīvaḥ suhṛdveśmasu yasya tāḥ |
prathayanti valaṁ vāhyoḥ sitacchatramitāḥ śriyaḥ ||

is quoted by Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamimāṁsā* and by Kṣemendra in his *Suvṛttatilaka*. Some verses are extracted under Meṇṭha or Hastipaka's name in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī* and other anthologies.[14] Dr. Bhau Daji finds one of his verses occurring in Rāghava's commentary of *Śakuntalā*.[15]

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[9] *Atraca Bharataḥ āśirvacanasaṁyuktā ....pyalaṁkṛtā* |
Asya-vyākhyāne Mātṛguptācāryeḥ ṣoḍhaṣāṁdhripadānvita iyaṁ udāhṛtā ||

[10] *Aucityavicāracarcā*, 22.

[11] *Subh.*, ed. Peterson, 2550, 3181.

[12] *R. T.*, III. 260-62.

[13] *Babhūva Vālmīkabhavaḥ purā kaviḥ*
tataḥ prapede bhuvi Bhartṛemeṇṭhatāṁ |
sthitaḥ punaryo Bhavabhūtirekhayā
sa vartate saṁprati Rājaśekharaḥ || Rājaśekhara
also Mankha, *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, ii, 53.

[14] *Cat. Catalog.*, I, p. 397.

[15] Max Müller, *India*, p. 314.

Some verses are attributed to Gonanda, Gopāditya and Raṇāditya in the *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*[16], and in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*.[17] Are they to be identified with the Kashmirian kings of their names mentioned in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* ? Unfortunately, we have nothing against which we can check the evidence and prove or reject such a theory.

Candragomin, the founder of the Candra School of Sanskrit grammar, probably lived in Kashmir. According to Kalhaṇa's evidence, Candrācārya revived the study of the *Mahābhāṣya* and composed his own grammar[18] during the reign of king Abhimanyu. Bhartṛhari mentions Baiji, Sauva and Haryakṣa, who lived before Candrācārya and who by their uncritical methods did much to push the *Mahābhāṣya* to the background.[19] A later Tibetan work records the censure of Patañjali's work by Candragomin.[20] It is thus quite likely that Candrācārya and Candragomin are identical persons.

Kalhaṇa's testimony does not give any clue regarding the date of Candragomin. But it is clear from his statement that the grammarian flourished long before the advent of the Karkoṭas[21] His Buddhistic title 'gomin' and the *Maṅgalaśloka* of his *vṛtti* in which he pays reverence to Sarvajña, tend to prove that Candragomin was a follower of Buddha. This literature recasts the work of Pāṇini and reduces the master's eight chapters into six of four sections each. He often rearranges and simplifies Pāṇini. But excepting thirty-five new *sūtras*, there is nothing much original in his work.

Kalhaṇa says that while writing the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, he received considerable informations regarding the earlier periods

[16] *Kav.*, 16.

[17] *Subh.*, 2110, 3075.

[18] *R. T.*, I, 176.

[19] *Vākyapadīya*, ii, 489-90.

[20] Sumppo, *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, pt. i, pp. 95-96.

[21] For the different views on the date and identity of Candragomin see Leibich, *Das Datum Candragomin und Kalidasas* (Breslau, 1903); S. Levi, *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*, Hanoi, iii (1903), pp. 38f.; N. Peri. *B.E.F.E.O.* (1911), p. 388, f. n. 2; Leibich, *Kṣīrataaṅgiṇī*, pp. 264 ff.

from a work entitled the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*.[22] The date of the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* is uncertain. But Kalhaṇa's reference to it as a work of high antiquity may suggest a date earlier than the accession of the Karkoṭas. The mention of Buddha in the work as an incarnation of Viṣṇu has led some scholars to assign the book not much earlier than the 7th century A.D.[23]

The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* describes at great length how Kashmir was created out of water and left to the care of the Nāgas of whom Nīla was the chief. Kashmir, according to this work, was Satī transformed into land. At Vāsukī's request, Viṣṇu agreed to apportion the great lake of the land of Satī as a dwelling place for the Nāgas, where they would be safe from Garuḍa. Viṣṇu further ordered Garuḍa to make Nīla, the chief of all Nāgas.

At that time, a water demon named Jalodbhava was causing great trouble by killing the inhabitants of Dārvābhisa, Gandhāra, Jālaṁdhara and other neighbouring regions. Nīla went to his father Kaśyapa and asked him to devise means by which the wicked demon could be got rid of. At the request of Kaśyapa, the gods came down to Kashmir to fight the water demon and Viṣṇu ultimately slew him.

Next the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* relates how Kashmir came to be inhabited by human being. After the valley was recovered, people could at first live for only six months and during the rest of the year, the country was occupied by the Piśācas under their king Nikumbha. Nikumbha left the valley with the whole of his army at the beginning of spring to fight the goblins of the ocean of sands. Then the men came to Kashmir, lived during the summer and after gathering their harvest left the valley before the advent of the winter when the Piśāca king returned and when no human being could live in the valley due to excessive cold. This continued for four *yugas*. Then a Brāhmaṇa, Candradeva by name, did not leave the valley during the winter and spent the season in the sub-terranean palace of

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[22] *R. T.*, I, 14.

[23] Bühler, Report of a tour in search of Sanskrit Manuscripts made in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (Extra Number) 1877, p. 141.

Nīla, the king of the Nāgas. Candradeva prayed before Nīla that in future people should be allowed to live in Kashmir during the winter also, to which the Nāga king agreed. Nīla furthermore declared to the Brāhmaṇa the rites which were to be observed by the future inhabitants. Henceforth, there was no more any excessive snow-fall or trouble from the Piśācas and slowly men came to live in the valley throughout the year.

The rites proclaimed by Nīla are very similar to the socio-religious ceremonies and festivals observed in the plains of India. There can be little doubt that the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* is a handbook of rites and ceremonies which were observed by the people of ancient Kashmir. But besides being a handbook of rites and ceremonies, it is also 'a real mine of information regarding the sacred places of Kashmir and their legends which are required in order to explain the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and that it shows how Kalhaṇa used his sources'[24] and it is here that the greatest importance of the work lies.

In addition to the *Nīlamatapurāṇa,* there are other texts of a somewhat similar pattern, known as *māhātmyas,* which also are useful for the interpretation of various legends connected with the sacred sites of Kashmir. The exact date of composition of the numerous *Sthānamāhātmyas* that put forward the false claim that they were extracted from the *Purāṇas* cannot be determined with certainty. But though they use many old materials, in their present form they seem to belong to a comparatively later period. At least there is nothing to prove that this bulk of literary works were composed in the pre-Muslim Kashmir.

Kalhaṇa's very frequent references to numerous Kashmirian authors and their works enable us to follow the history of Sanskrit literature of Kashmir with tolerable accuracy from the 8th century onwards. The works of many of the writers themselves have also survived and some of these contain valuable informations about other foregoing and contemporary writers and their compositions. Vallabhadeva's (15th century A.D.) *Subhāṣitāvalī* which is an anthology of verses compiled from the writings of various poets of ancient India and particularly of Kashmir, is also a very valuable work which helps a lot to trace the early literary history of the valley.

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[24] *Ibid.*

Of the poets of the Karkoṭa period, Kalhaṇa mentions Dāmodaragupta,[25] Manoratha, Śaṅkhadatta, Caṭaka and Saṁdhimat[26] who flourished in the court of king Jayāpīa. Dāmodaragupta is said to have written a book called *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya*.[27] This work has survived. It is a practical treatise on erotics. Full of interesting stories, {the book incidentally throws a flood of light on the contemporary social life. Several verses of Manoratha seem to occur in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*.[28] About the other three poets Śaṅkhadatta, Caṭaka and Saṁdhimat, nothing is known. In the reign of the Karkoṭa king Ajitāpīḍa, there lived a poet named Śaṅkuka who composed a poem called *Bhuvanābhyudaya*. The theme of the book was centred round the conflict between the regents Mamma and Utpalaka.[29] The work has not come down but quotations from it are presented in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*.[30] Śaṅkukais verse has also been quoted in *Śārngadharapaddhati* and *Sūktimuktāvalī,* and there his father's name has been given as Mayūra.[31] Further, the name of Śaṅkuka has been referred to in the fourth chapter of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* and his opinion on a point of poetics is considered authoritative.[32]

It is quite likely that some of the Karkoṭa kings themselves cultivated the art of poetry; fragments of poems written by Muktāpīḍa and Jayāpīḍa are presented in *Subhāṣitāvalī*.[33]

The early Kashmirians were as distinguished in the field of poetics as in poetry and the Karkoṭa period produced some great writers on the subject. The oldest of them is Bhāmaha, son of Rakrilagomin. Probably he lived in the beginning of the 8th century.[34] Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṁkāra*[35] is the earliest work of poetics which has come down to us. It contains 398 verses and is divided into six chapters which deal with, such topics as *kāvyaśarīra, alaṁkāra, doṣa, nyāya* and *śabdaśuddhi.*

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[25] *R. T.*, IV, 496.
[26] *R. T.*, IV, 497.
[27] *R. T.*, IV, 496.
[28] *Subh.* (ed. Peterson), 51, 58, 440.
[29] *R. T.*, IV, 705.
[30] *Subh.*, 526, 534, 750, 874, 908, 1156, 1234.
[31] Peterson, Intr. *Subh.*, p. 127.
[32] *Kāvyaprakāśa* (Bombay ed. 1899), p. 89.
[33] *Subh.* (ed. Peterson), 585, 648, 654, 655, 661.

Whether Bhāmaha was a Buddhist or not, has been a matter of much controversy among historians. The *Kāmadhenu* and the *Vṛttaratnākara* quote some verses from Bhāmaha which are not found in the *Kāvyālaṁkāra.* Some of these verses indicate that Bhāmaha wrote a book on metrics also. Bhāmaha's views and writings have been quoted by Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Mammaṭa, and Vāmana. Udbhaṭa, the court poet of Jayāpīḍa[36] appears to have written a gloss on his *Kāvyālaṁkāra-saṁgraha* named *Bhāmahavivarṇa,*[37] but the work is not extant.

Udbhaṭa was a reputed writer on *alaṁkāra.* Besides *Bhāmahavivarṇa,* he wrote an independent treatise, the *Alaṁkāra-saṁgraha.*[38] In six chapters and in seventy nine *kārikās,* it defines forty-one types of figures of speech. Udbhaṭa wrote a poem too, entitled the *Kumārasambhava.* The work has not survived, but some verses from it are found in his *Allaṁkāra-saṁgraha.*

Udbhaṭa's contemporary was Vāmana, another writer on poetics, who also adorned the court of Jayāpīḍa.[39] His *Kāvyālāṁkārasūtra*[40] is divided into five chapters and deals with the whole sphere of *alaṁkāra-śāstra.* According to Vāmana, the soul of the poetry is the style (*rīti*).

Lollaṭa, who according to the evidence of Abhinavagupta, controverted the view of Udbhaṭa, might have lived in the beginning of the 9th century. He seems to have championed

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[34] S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics,* I, p. 49.

[35] Printed by K. P. Trivedi as appendix of *Pratāparudra Yaśobhūṣaṇa* B.S.S.

[36] *R. T.,* IV, 495.

[37] Abhinavagupta, *Locana,* p. 10; Ruyyaka, *Alaṁkārasarvasva,* p. 183.

[38] Ed. Banhatti, N. S. P., Bombay; tr. Jacobi J. R. A. S. (1897).

[39] *R. T.,* IV, 497; on the identity of *Vāmana,* author of the *Kāvyālaṁkārasūtra* with Vāmana the poet of Jayāpīḍa's court see Bühler's Rep., *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (Extra no.), 1877, p. 64.

[40] Ed. Capellar; ed. Kāvyamālā, Bombay; ed. Kulakarṇi, Srinagar.

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the theory of *rasa*. None of his works has come down, but he is credited by Abhinavagupta and other later writers with the authorship of a commentary on Bharata. Some of his verses are quoted by Mammaṭa and Hemacandra. From quotations preserved by Abhinavagupta it appears that Śaṅkuka criticized his theories on *rasa*. It is not clear whether this Śaṅkuka is the author who wrote *Bhuvanābhyudaya* composed during the reign of Ajitāpīḍa.

The Karkoṭa rule was supplanted by that of the Utpalas. Among the poets of this age, Kalhaṇa mentions Muktākaṇa, Śivasvāmin, Ānandavardhana and Ratnākara who obtained fame during the reign of Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883).[41]

Śivasvāmin, also known as Bhaṭṭa Śivasvāmin, was an ardent follower of Buddha. He wrote a poem named *Kapphiṇābhyudaya,* describing the expedition of Kapphiṇa, king of Dakṣiṇāpatha against Prasenajit of Śrāvastī. At the end of the war, which resulted in his victory, Kapphiṇa accepted Buddhism and renounced his worldly attachments.[42] Some of the verses of Śivasvāmin are quoted in Kṣemendra's *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*[43] and Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī.*[44] Otherwise, Muktākaṇa is known only from quotations preserved in Kṣemendra's *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa* and *Suvṛttatilaka.*[45] Ratnākara has been identified with the author of the great *kāvya* named *Haravijaya,* an enormous epic in fifty cantos which describes the defeat of demon Andhaka in the hands of Śiva. From the colophon of the work, it seems that Ratnākara whose full name is given as Rājānaka Ratnākara Vāgīśvara composed the poem during the reign of king Bṛhaspati Cippaṭa Jayāpīḍa,[46] who, according to Kalhaṇa, died forty years before the accession of Avantivarman.[47] It is possible that Ratnākara started his career under Cippaṭa Jayāpīḍa

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[41] *R. T.,* V, 34.

[42] *Rep. on the search of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Bombay Presidency,* R. G. Bhandarkar (1897), p. xviii.

[43] *Cat. Catalog.,* I, pp. 654, 655.

[44] *Subh.* (ed. Peterson), p. 129.

[45] *Cat. Catalog.,* I, p. 459.

[46] For the identification of Ratnākara's Bāla Bṛhaspati with Cippaṭa Jayāpīḍa, see Bühler's *Report,* p. 42-43.

[47] *R. T.,* IV, 703.

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but was patronised also by Avantivarman. Besides the *Haravijaya Kāvya,* Ratnākara is credited with the composition of two smaller poems, *Vakroktipañcāśika*[48] and *Dhavnigāthā pañcikā.* Some of his verses have found place in Kṣemendra's *Suvṛttatilaka,*[49] in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*[50] and in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhatī.*[51] The fame of Ratnākara seems to have spread outside and the poet Rājaśekhara praises him for his vast learning and wealth of imagery.[52]

The fame of Ānandavardhana rests principally on his treatise on the science of poetics. His great work *Dhvanyāloka, Kāvyāloka* or *Sahṛdayāloka* is a commentary in four chapters on certain verses treating *dhvani* as the soul of poetry. Abhinavagupta's elucidation on it, the *Locana,* has given the work a wide reputation. Besides *Dhvanyāloka,* Ānandavardhana composed several poems in Sanskrit and in Prākṛt. His *Devīśataka* is a lyric written in praise of Pārvatī. The other poetical compositions are *Arjunacaritamahākāvya* (Sanskrit), *Viṣamavanalīlā, Harivijaya* (both Prākṛt) and *Mataparīkṣā*[53].

In the same period as Ānandavardhana, seem to have lived three other reputed rhetoricians of Kashmir, Rudraṭa, Mukula and Indurāja.

Rudraṭa, also called Śatananda was the son of Vāmana. His *Kāvyālaṁkāra*[54] in 16 chapters deals with the figures of speech depending on sound and sense. He represents the *alaṁkāra* school and is opposed to the theory of Vāmana that *rīti* is the soul of poetry.

According to Jacobi, Rudraṭa lived during Avantivarman's reign and the example of Vakrokti given by Rudraṭa (II, 15) was prompted by Ratnākara in his *Vakroktipañcāśikā*.[55] Rudraṭa was not the author of the *Śṛṅgāratilaka* as some scholars have presumed;[56] the book was written by Rudrabhaṭṭa.

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[48] This work has been printed in Kāvyamālā series, Bombay.

[49] *Suvṛttatilaka,* ii, 20, iii, 19.

[50] *Subh.* (ed. Peterson), pp. 96, 97.

[51] *Cat. Catalog,* I, p. 492.

[52] *Māśma santu hi catvāraḥ prāyo Ratnākarā ime |*
Itiva prakṛto dhātrā kaviratnākaro' paraḥ ||
This verse has been attributed to Rājaśekhara in the *Hārāvalī* and in the *Sūktimuktāvalī.* See Peterson, *Intr. to Subh.,* p. 97.

[53] The names of all these works are known from Ānandavardhana's *Kāvyāloka.*

[54] Ed. Kāvyamālā.

Mukula was the son of the famous Śaiva philosopher Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa who lived in the time of Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883). His *Abhidhāvṛttimātṛkā*[57] deals with the theory of various rhetoricians on *abhidhā*, the 'appellative power' residing in words.

Indurāja, also known as Pratihārendurāja, was a pupil of Mukula. He was born in Konkan, but afterwards migrated to Kashmir. Only one work, written by him, has come to us. It is a commentary on Udbhaṭa's *Kāvyālaṁkāra* and is entitled the *Kāvyālaṁkārasāralaghuvṛtti*.[58]

We learn from Kalhaṇa that a poet named Bhallaṭa lived in the reign of Śaṁkaravarman.[59] An extant work named *Bhallaṭaśataka*[60] evidently belongs to him. Verses from this work have been quoted by Abhinavagupta, Kṣemendra and Mammaṭa. Some passages from this work also occur in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* and in the *Subhāṣitāvalī*.

Another contemporary litterateur of Śaṁkaravarman was Jayanta Bhaṭṭa. Three books of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa have so far been recovered. They are the *Nyāyamañjarī*,[61] the *Nyāyakalikā* and the *Āgamaḍambara*.[62] All of them are standard works on *nyāyaśāstra*. In the *Nyāyamañjarī* and *Āgamaḍambara*, Jayanta Bhaṭṭa mentions the name of king Śaṃkaravarman. So he can not be placed earlier than that monarch (A.D. 883-902). Then, the author of the *Kādambarī*, Abhinanda, who was Jayanta's son, says that Jayanta's great grandfather was a minister of Lalitāditya. Lalitāditya reigned about the middle of the 8th

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[55] *Z. D. M. G.*, 56, 763.

[56] Bühler, *Report*, pp. 67-68.

[57] Ed. Bombay.

[58] Ed. Bombay.

[59] *R. T.*, V, 204.

[60] Ed. Kāvyamālā, Bombay.

[61] *Nyāyamañjarī* (Cal. University).

[62] A manuscript copy of this book lies in one of the Jaina Bhāṇḍāras of Patan. See *Des. Cat. of Jaina Manuscripts of Patan*, G. O. S., Vol. LXXVI, p. 51.

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century A.D. Jayanta, being four generations removed from Lalitāditya, could not possibly have lived much later than the last quarter of the 9th century A.D.

It is not unlikely that king Śaṁkaravarman himself also composed several poems. In the chapters on coinage it has been noted that another name of Śaṁkaravarman was Yaśovarman. A lost drama entitled *Rāmābhyudaya,* written by one Yaśovarman, which is cited by Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka,*[63] perhaps belongs to him. Some verses, written by a poet called Yaśovarman are also preserved in the *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* and *Subhāṣitāvalī.*[64] Possibly they were written by Śaṁkaravarman alias Yaśovarman.

The poet who comes next is Abhinanda, son of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, whose *Kādambarī-kathāsāra* is a metrical summary of Bāṇa's prose romance. Abhinanda traces his ancestry from Śakti, who was originally an inhabitant of the Gauḍa country but afterwards migrated from his native province and settled in Kashmir. From Abhinavagupta's mention of poet Abhinanda, son of Jayanta at the end of the 10th century[65] and from the fact that Abhinanda's father Jayanta was a contemporary of Śaṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902), it may be inferred that Abhinanda lived in the first part of the 10th century. Although Abhinanda mentions one of his ancestors as an inhabitant of Gauḍa, it is not clear whether he is the same as Gauḍa-Abhinanda, whose verses are quoted in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati.*[66] Some of the anthologies such as *Śārṅgadharapaddhati, Kavīndravacanasamuccaya, Sadūktikarṇāmṛta* and *Sūktimuktāvalī* quote verses written by an Abhinanda and not Gauḍa-Abhinanda. The *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* which refers to him can not be assigned to a period later than the 10th century. So Abhinanda of the anthologies could not have been much removed from the author of the *Kathāsāra.* But it is not known whether this Abhinanda of the anthologies is identical with Gauḍa Abhinanda or with Abhinanda, son of Jayanta. The author of the *Kathāsāra,* however, must be distinguished from another Abhinanda, the son of Śatananda and the writer of an epic called *Rāmacarita.*[67] The name of Abhinanda has been mentioned and his poem *Kādambarī-kathāsāra* has been held in high esteem by some later Kashmirian writers.[68]

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[63] *Dhvanyāloka* (Ed. N.S.P.., Bombay, 1911), pp. 138, 148.

[64] *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* (ed. Thomas), pp. 75, 76; *Subh.* (ed. Peterson), 1364.

[65] *Locana,* (Kāvyamālā ed.), p. 142. In this printed text, the *Kathāsāra* has been ascribed to Jayanta Bhaṭṭa but the India Office Manuscript No. 1008E1135 assigns it to Abhinanda, son of Bhaṭṭa Jayanta.

[66] *Śārṅgadharapaddhati,* 1090, 3485.

As already noted in the chapter on religion, Kashmir was a land par excellence of the Śaiva faith and it had developed a particular system of Śivaite philosophy based on the principle of idealistic monism *(advaita)*. The earliest writers, who propounded and expanded this doctrine, belonged to the Utpala period. The exact date of Vasugupta, the founder of the Kashmir Śaivism is not known for certain. But as his disciple Kallaṭa lived at the end of the 9th century A.D.,[69] he also may be placed near about the same period. Most of his works are now lost. His *Spandāmṛta* has probably been incorporated in the *Spandakārikās* and his commentary on the *Bhagavad Gītā* called the *Vāsavī-Ṭīkā* may perhaps be traced in the first six chapters of another *Ṭīkā* on the *Bhagavad Gītā* called *Lāsakī,* by Rājānaka Lasakāka. About the personality and lineage of Vasugupta, all that we learn from his pupils is that he lived in his retirement as a holy sage in the Ṣaḍarhadvana (Harwan).

According to Kalhaṇa's evidence, Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa 'descended to the earth for the benefit of the people' at the time of Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883). He was a pupil of Vasugupta and wrote a commentary called *Spandasarvasva* on his teacher's *Spandāmṛta.* It is still extant.[70] He was also the author of the

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[67] Bühler identified the author of the *Rāmacarita* with the author of the *Kādambarī Kathāsāra, J. B. B. R. A. S.,* extra no. 1877, p. 45. But as the name of the father of the author of the *Rāmacarita* is Śatananda and not Jayanta, he should not be identified with the composer of the *Kathāsāra.*

[68] Kṣemendra, *Suvṛttatilaka,* iii, 6, 29; Someśvara, *Kīrtikaumudī,* i. 26

[69] *R. T.,* V, 66.

[70] Bühler, *Report,* p. 78 sqq.

Spandakārikās, an exposition on the work of Vasugupta.[71] His two other books, the *Tatvārtha-Cintāmaṇi* and the *Madhuyāhinī,* are now lost. Both of them were commentaries on the Śiva Sūtras.

The next author on Śaiva philosophy was Somānanda. He wrote *Śivadṛṣṭi* and a *Vṛtti* on it in which he marshalled philosophical reasonings in support of Vasugupta's teachings. Abhinavagupta, who lived towards the end of the 10th and the first part of the 11th century, was fourth in succession from Somānanda in a line of spiritual tutelage. Somānanda, therefore, might have flourished towards the end of the 9th century.[72] Somānanda was most probably a pupil of Vasugupta.

Somānanda's disciple Utpala was the author of as many as six works. These were *Pratyabhijñākārikās, Vṛtti* on it, *Ṭikā* on it (lost), *Īśvara-siddhi, Ajaḍapramātṛ-siddhi* and *Stotrāvalī.* He possibly flourished in the first quarter of the 10th century.

Utpalācārya's pupil Rāmakaṇṭha (*c.* A.D. 925) wrote a work entitled the *Spandavivṛti.* He is also credited with the composition of two commentaries, one on the *Mātaṅga Tantra* and the other on the *Bhagavad Gītā.* None of the commentaries, however, has come down to us.

In the later part of the 10th century, comes Mahāmaheśvara Abhinavagupta. A prolific writer, he obtained as great a reputation in the field of poetics as in *Śaivadarśana.* From a study of the concluding portions of his two works, *Tantrāloka* and *Parātriṁśikāvivaraṇa,* we learn that he was born in a reputed Brāhmaṇa family. His grandfather was Varāhagupta, his father was Narasiṁhagupta alias Cukhala, and his younger brother was Manorothagupta. In quest of learning, he travelled over various parts of Kashmir and also visited many places outside the valley. Among his teachers were Bhaṭṭendurāja, Lakṣmaṇagupta and Bhaṭṭa Tauṭa.

Abhinavagupta wrote as many as forty one books,[73] some of which exist, while several are known only by name. His

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[71] Stein, *Cat. of Jammu Manuscripts,* p. 361.

[72] Bühler, *Report,* p. 82.

[73] For a complete list of Abhinavagupta's work see K. C. Pande, *Abhinavagupta: an historical and philosophical study.*

Locana[74] is an extremely profound and difficult commentary on Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka*. His *Nāṭyālocanā* and *Abhinavabhāratī* are commentaries on Bharata's *Nāṭyāśāstra*. Among works other than those of Śaiva philosophy, he composed *Bhairavastotra, Mohopadeśaviṁśati, Kramastotra* and *Ghaṭakarparavivṛti*. His more important works on Śaiva philosophy include *Parā-Triṁśikāvivaraṇa, Śiva-Dṛṣṭyālocana, Pratyabhijñāvimarśinī, Pratyabhijñāvivṛti vimarśinī, Tantrāloka, Tantrasāra, Paramārthasāra* and *Mālinīvijayavārttika*.

Abhinava's literary career extended over a quarter of a century from the year 4066 (the date of composition of *Kramastotra*) to the year 4090 (the date of composition of the *Bṛhat Pratyabhijñāvimarśinī*) of the Laukika era, i.e. A.D. 990-1014. In view of the fact that his literary career started in a fairly mature age, his date of birth may be placed sometime between A.D. 950 and 960.

Not long after Abhinavagupta, came Mahimabhaṭṭa, the rhetorician. In his *Vyaktiviveka*,[75] he controverted the *dhvani* theory of Abhinavagupta. He was a champion of the *anumāna* theory of *rasa* and according to him all that pass by the name of *dhvani* are really cases of inference.[76] Mahimabhaṭṭa's attempt to kill the theory of *dhvani*, however, seems to have apparently failed as it could not convince the later writers who often quote him but only to refute his theory.

Mahimabhaṭṭa quotes Abhinavagupta who lived at least upto A.D. 1014. His own works have been reviewed by Mammaṭa, whose approximate date is the middle of the 11th century. Mahima thus flourished between the two. Mahimabhaṭṭa's preceptor Śyāmala has been referred to by Kṣemendra, who lived between 1014 and 1066. This also agrees well with the view that Mahimabhaṭṭa lived in the first half of the 11th century.

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[74] Ed. Kāvyamāla, Bombay; S. K. De, *Jl. of Dept. of Letters* (Cal. University, 1923).

[75] Ed. T. S. S., 1909.

[76] *Anumāne'ntarbhavaṁ sarvasyaiva dhvaneḥ prakāśayitum |*
Vyakti-vivekaṁ kurute praṇamya mahimā parāṁ vācam ||
—*Vyaktiviveka*, verse i.

Mahimabhaṭṭa wrote another book, the *Tattvoktikoṣa,*[77] in which he discussed the nature of *pratibhā.*

Kṣemendra, the next great litterateur 'was not a man to hide his light under a bushel, and he has taken care to let us know a good deal about himself and his time'. He was born in a well-to-do family. His father's name was Prakāśendra and grandfather's name Sindhu. By birth he was a Śaiva but laterly, under the teachings of Somācārya Bhāgavata, he became Vaiṣṇava.

His course of studies seems to have comprised all the sciences and arts then known in Kashmir. He had a thorough knowledge of mathematics, astrology, medicine, surgery, politics, erotics, and Buddhist philosophy. Kṣemendra says that he left the company of dry logicians and grammarians but studied all the lexicons of his time. He was particularly fond of songs, *gāthās,* novels and interesting conceits of poetry.

Kṣemendra is silent about the date of his birth. But he says in his *Bhārata-mañjarī* that he studied literature with Abhinavagupta, author of the *Vidyāvivṛti* or the *Pratyabhijñā-vṛhatī-vimarśinī.* As Abhinavagupta composed his famous commentary on *Pratayabhiñjā* philosophy in A.D. 1014 it is apparent that Kṣemendra was born much earlier. His *Daśāvatāracarita* was composed in the Laukika year 4141 or A.D. 1066. Probably he lived a little longer.

Kṣemendra was a versatile genius. He wrote poems, narratives, didactic and satiric sketches and treatises on rhetoric and prosody. His *Bhāratamañjarī, Rāmāyaṇamañjarī, Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, Padyakādambarī* (lost) and *Avadānakalpalatā* are, respectively, the abstracts of the two great epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa,* Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā,* Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* and the Buddhist *Avadānas.* All these were written in verse. Among his other works, known only by name, are *Śaśīvaṁśa-mahākāvya, Amṛtaraṅgakāvya, Avasarasāra, Muktāvalī, Vātsyāyana-sūtra-sāra, Lalitaratnamālā, Kanakajānakī, Nṛpāvalī, Lavaṇyāvatī* and *Pavanapañcāśikā.* His known and printed works include *Nītikalpataru, Cārucaryā, Deśopadeśa, Narma-*

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[77] T. S. S., 1909.

mālā, Nītilatā, Vinayāvallī. Darpadalana, Sevyasevakopadeśa, Munimatamīmāṁsā, Caturvarga-saṁgraha, Aucityavicāracarcā, Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa and *Daśāvatāracarita.*

In *Samayamātṛkā,*[78] one of his most original poems, he describes the arts and trickeries of the harlot. The merit of the work lies in its vivid description of droll life painted with great sharpness of phrasing and characterisation. His *Sevyasevakopadeśa*[79] contains shrewd reflections on the relation between master and servant. The *Cārucaryā,*[80] a century of moral aphorisms, gives a pleasing picture of virtue's ways of pleasantness in contemporary Kashmir. The *Caturvargasaṁgraha* deals with the four objects of human life, *dharma, artha, kāma* and *mokṣa.* The *Darpadalana*[81] is a denunciatory harrangue against human pride which is said to have sprung from birth, wealth, learning, beauty, valour, charity and asceticism. They are dealt separately in each chapter with illustrations on each type of boaster. The *Kalāvilāsa*[82] is satirical poem of ten cantos in which Mūladeva, the legendary master of trickery instructs his young disciple in the arts of roguery. Kṣemendra's *Deśopadeśa* and *Narmamālā,*[83] like *Kalāvilāsa,* also represent his satirical proclivity of mind. In the former, he dilates upon the daily life of different depraved sections of people inhabiting the valley such as cheat, miser, prostitute, bawd, ostentatious voluptuary, students of Gauḍa, old man marrying young wives, degraded Śaiva Guru, the ignorant grammarians etc. The *Narmamālā* is a sharp satire on the misrule and oppression of the Kāyasthas, before the time of Ananta. In his *Aucityavicāracarcā,*[84] Kṣemendra tries to propound that propriety or *aucitya* is the soul of poetry and the figures of speech, if they overstep their proper limits, hurt the *rasa.* In the *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa* he discusses with the subjects of *kavitvaprāpti, śikṣā, camatkṛti, guṇadoṣa-*

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[78] Kāvyamālā, ed. Bombay.
[79] Kāvyamālā, ed. Bombay.
[80] Kāvyamālā, ed. Bombay.
[81] Ed. Kāvyamālā, Bombay.
[82] Ed. Kāvyamālā, Bombay.
[83] Ed. M. Kaul, Kashmir series of texts and studies.
[84] Ed. Kāvyamālā.

bodha and *paricayaprāpti*. Kṣemendra's *Daśāvatāracarita*[85] gives in regular *Kāvya* style, an account of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, viz., Matsya, Kurma, Varāha, Nṛsiṁha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Karkya, which is nothing but an abstraction of the Puranic stories.

Mammaṭabhaṭṭa, the rhetorician, seems to have been a later contemporary of Kṣemendra. He refers to Abhinavagupta, Mahimabhaṭṭa and king Bhoja and as such must have lived in or about A.D. 1050.[86] Though a native of Kashmir, he took his early education at Benares. He was a Śaiva by faith and was also a staunch supporter of the grammarian school.[87] His *Kāvyaprakāśa,* a superb work of compilation is divided into ten sections (*ullāsa*). It covers the whole ground of rhetoric, deals with the merits and demerits of poetry, the junctions of different words and their sources and the figures of speech. But Mammaṭa was not only a compiler, he was a critic too. He champions the theory of *dhvani* and attacks the views of Bhāmaha, Bhaṭṭodbhaṭa, Vāmana, Rudraṭa, Mahimabhaṭṭa and others. Ruyyaka, in his *Saṁketa* commentary says that Mammaṭa could not finish his work, and it was completed by somebody else. This view receives support from other commentators as well and Rājānaka Ānanda, in his commentary, says that Mammaṭa wrote up to *parikara alaṁkāra* and the remaining portion was written by Allaṭa.[88] The *Kāvyaprakāśa* has two parts *kārikās* and *vṛtti*. According to some authorities, the *kārikās* were written by Bharata and the *vṛtti* by Mammaṭa.[89] Mammaṭa wrote another book entitled the *Śavdavyāpāracarcā,* on the derivation and functions of words.[90]

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[85] Ed. Durgāprasād, Bombay, 1891.

[86] On the date of Mammaṭa see M. T. N. Ayyanger, *J. R. A. S.*, 1908, p. 65; Kane, *I.A.*, XLI, p. 204.

[87] Vāmanācārya, *Intr. of Kāvyaprakāśa,* Bombay ed. pp. 9-12.

[88] The opinion expressed by Rājānaka Ānanda receives support from Arjuna Varmā's (13th century, A.D.) commentary on the *Amaruśataka.* Referring to a verse from the *Kāvyaprakāśa,* he says—

Yathodahṛtam doṣanirṇaye Mammaṭallaṭabhyam. Allaṭa's writings begin from some part of the 7th chapter.

[89] Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *Sāhitya Kaumudī* (ed. Kāvyamālā); Peterson, *Reports of the operations in search of Sanskrit mss. in the Bombay Circle,* II, 20.

[90] The manuscript of the book lies in the Dacca University Library.

Somadeva, the author of the *Kathāsaritsāgara,*[91] was another later contemporary of Kṣemendra. He composed his work for the amusement of Sūryamatī, the mother of king Kalaśa and grandmother of Harṣa. Evidently, it was written sometime between A.D. 1063 and 1089 when Kalaśa was on the throne and Sūryamatī was still alive. The main theme of Somadeva's work, like Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī,* seems to be the adventures of Naravāhanadatta, son of Udayana and his final attainment of Madanamañjarikā as his wife and the land of the Vidyādharas as his kingdom. A large number of tales, legends and witty stories is dovetailed into the principal narrative, which indeed make the collection an ocean of the streams of stories. It consists of 18 books of 124 chapters and more than 21,000 verses. Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* is generally said to have been adopted from Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* written in Paiśācī dialect. But the Kashmirian *Bṛhatkathā,* from which both Kṣemendra and Somadeva drew their inspiration, was most probably not the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya. It seems to have been an old Kashmirian version of the same, which had undergone many changes. This is apparent from the comparative evidence of the contents of the two Kashmirian versions, and from their divergency with the Nepal edition of the *Bṛhatkathā,* the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha* of Buddhasvāmin.[92]

About the same period as Kṣemendra, also lived Kṣemarāja, the writer on Śaiva philosophy. Both of them were pupils of Abhinavagupta and as such Kṣemarāja seems to have flourished about the beginning of the 11th century. Continuing the labours of his master, Kṣemarāja wrote a number of works on Kashmir Śaivism. The chief extant works of his are *Pratyabhijñā-Hṛdaya, Spanda Sandoha, Spanda Nirṇaya, Svacchandoddyota, Netradyota, Vijñāna-Bhairavaddyota, Śiva-Sūtra-vṛtti, Śiva-Sūtra vimarśinī, Stava-cintāmaṇiṭīkā, Utpalastotrāvalīṭīkā, Para-Praveśikā* and *Tattva Sandoha.*

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[91] Ed. Durgaprasad and Parab, Bombay, 1869; Eng. tr. Tawney, ed. Penzer, 10 vols., London, 1924-1928.

[92] For detailed discussions on the point, see, Lacote, *Essai,* p. 207 ff, Sten Konow, *I.A.*, XLIII, p. 66.

Another Śaivaite writer, Bhāskara, who was five generations removed from Kallaṭa in a direct line of spiritual descent, was probably a contemporary of Kṣemarāja. He embodied in his *Śiva Sūtra-vārttika* the teachings of Vasugupta. Kṣemendra's pupil Yogarāja may be assigned to the second half of the 11th century. He started his studies with Abhinavagupta and wrote a commentary on his *Paramārthasāra.*

The poet who followed next was Bilhaṇa. From the last canto of his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* we learn that he was born at Khonamuṣa, near Pravarapura, of a pious and learned Madhyadeśī Brāhmaṇa family. His father was Jyeṣṭhakalaśa and mother was Nāgadevī. Bilhaṇa received his early education at Kashmir and obtained proficiency in grammar and poetics. At the time of the nominal accession of Kalaśa, when Ananta was still alive, he left Kashmir and set out on his wanderings in quest of fame and fortune. The places which he visited were Mathurā, Kānyakubja, Prayāga, and Vārānasī. At the Court of Kṛṣṇa of Ḍāhala, he stayed for sometime and probably wrote a poem in honour of Rāma. On leaving Ḍāhala the poet visited Western India, attracted by the fame of the courts of Dhārā and Anhilwad and the sanctity of Somnāth Paṭhan. For some reason not stated, he did not go to Bhoja of Dhārā. After spending sometime at Anhilwad, Bilhaṇa embarked from there for southern India and visited Rāmeśvara. On his way back, he reached the court of Kalyāṇa, where the Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI Tribhuvanamalla (A.D. 1076-1127) admired him and made him his Vidyāpati. From the last verses of the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita,* it appears that latterly he fell into disfavour with Vikramāditya VI and had to leave his kingdom. Does it account for the incomplete narrative of Bilhaṇa which stops with Vikramādiya's Cola war and never refers to his activities beyond the Narmadā in 1088?

The *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* is a poem of 18 cantos which glorifies king Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla of Kalyāṇa. It opens with an eulogistic account of the Cālukya dynasty. Then the exploits of king Vikramāditya's father are described at some length. At the end the poet comes to Vikramāditya VI and depicts with usual amplifications 'the conquests of Vikramāditya before his accession to the throne, his dethronement of his elder brother Someśvara II, his defeat and capture of his younger brother and his numerous wars with the faithless Colas'. Though Bilhaṇa has taken a historical theme for his subject-matter, his work, in all its essentials, is a *kāvya* and not a history.

His *Karṇasundarī*[93] was written as a compliment to the Cālukya Karṇadeva of Anhilwad whose marriage with a princess it delineates, under the guise of a romantic tale.

Another poem, *Cauri* or *Caura-Surata-Pañcāśikā,* which is of unknown date and authorship is generally ascribed to Bilhaṇa. The poem consists of fifty amatory verses, sung in the first person, on the topic of secret love. In one of the South Indian versions, a text called *Bilhaṇa Kāvya* is attached to the poem, which says that Bilhaṇa repeated these verses when, caught in a secret intrigue with the daughter of a king, he was going to be executed. These glowing verses uttered by the poet moved the king who ordered his release and gave his daughter in marriage with him. But the story differs widely in different versions. Similar tales are told about other poets and the place of occurrence of the alleged incident also varies. Under these circumstances, it seems that the *Caura Kavi* was not identical with Bilhaṇa. The stanzas of *Caurapañcāśikā* were probably some floating verses of unknown authorship which were ascribed to different writers in different periods.

Not long after Bilhaṇa, came the poet Śambhu, who lived in the court of king Harṣa. His *Rājendra Karṇapura*[94] is a high flown panegyric eulogising his patron and his *Anyokti-muktālatā*[95] is a collection of verses on various topics indicating indirect meaning.

The First Lohara dynasty came to an end with the death of Harṣa and the second year of the 12th century marked the accession of the Second Lohara dynasty on Kashmir throne. Among the litterateurs who received patronage of this court, were the celebrated poets Jalhaṇa, Mankha and Kalhaṇa.

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[93] Ed. Bombay, Kāvyamālā series.

[94] Ed. N. J. Kirtanc, Bombay.

[95] Ed. Kāvyamālā, Bombay.

Jalhaṇa was a contemporary of Uccala. We learn from Mankha that when Sussala acceded to the throne after Uccala's death, he left the valley and went to the court of Rājapurī. There he wrote a poem called *Somapālavilāsa* on the history of the king Somapāla. His *Mugdhopadeśa*[96] is a poem ethical in character.

Mankha or Mankhaka wrote his poem *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* between the years A.D. 1135 and A.D. 1145. The theme of the work is the Puranic legend of Śiva's overthrow of Tripura. But besides the story of Tripura's defeat, several cantos are employed in describing the usual accessories allowed in *kāvyas*, the seasons, the sunsets, the sunrises, court scenes, amusements etc. In the third canto the author gives an account of his family from which we learn that his grandfather's name was Manmatha and his father was Viśvavrata. He had three other brothers, Śṛṅgāra, Bhaṅga and Alaṁkāra, all employed as state officials. Mankha himself held high office under Jayasiṁha but it is unknown what his designation was. The twenty-fifth or last canto of the *Śrikaṇṭhacarita* is particularly interesting as it gives the names of thirty contemporary scholars, poets and officials who assembled at the house of Alaṁkāra on the occasion of the completion and public reading of the poem. Though as a pupil of the famous rhetorician Ruyyaka, Mankha shows some cleverness in rhetorical ornaments, it must be admitted that his work lacks lucidity of expression, freshness and variety.

A dictionary called *Mankhakoṣa* is current in Kashmir. It is not known whether the writer of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* is also the author of this lexicon.

As already noted, Mankha mentions some of his contemporary poets in the last canto of his book. They are Ānanda (XXV, 84), Kalyāṇa (XXV, 80) Garga (XXV, 50), Govinda (XXV, 77), Jalhaṇa (XXV, 75), Paṭu (XXV, 131), Padmarāja (XXV, 86), Bhuḍḍa (XXV, 82), Loṣṭhadeva (XXV, 36), Vāgīśvara (XXV, 127), Śrīgarbha (XXV, 50) and Śrīvatsa (XXV, 82). Jalhaṇa has been already referred to. About the rest, nothing else is known from any other source.

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[96] Ed. Kāvyamālā, Bombay.

Kalhaṇa, the celebrated poet-historian of Kashmir was the son of a high functionary of the State. His father Caṇpaka was the *'dvārapati'* or 'Commandant of the frontier passes' during the reign of king Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101). Kalhaṇa's ambition of life was to write a chronicle of the kings of Kashmir. When Jayasiṁha became king after the death of Sussala (A.D. 1127), Kalhaṇa became his court-poet. He composed his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* between the years 1149-50.

According to tradition, Kalhaṇa wrote another poem *Jayasiṁhābhyudaya,* probably an eulogy of his patron, king Jayasiṁha of Kashmir. The book has not yet been discovered but a verse from this poem has been quoted in *Ratnakathā-sārasamuccaya.*

Though Kalhaṇa does not say anything about his own caste, he seems to be a Brāhmaṇa. His vast learning as expressed in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* accords well with the reputation generally enjoyed by the Brahmin *pandits* of Kashmir. Kalhaṇa's sympathy towards the Brāhmaṇas, as revealed in the pages of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* also tends to show that he was probably a Brāhmaṇa. Every doubt in this regard is dispelled by Jonarāja, the writer of the *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī,* who calls Kalhaṇa clearly as *'dvija'.* Kalhaṇa was a Śaiva in his religious belief. In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* he pays his devotion in the opening verse of each *taraṅga* to the Lord Śiva and his consort Gaurī.

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* consists of eight books or *taraṅgas.* The first book deals with the Gonanda dynasty, several local rulers, Aśoka and his successors, the Turuṣkas i.e. the Kuṣāṇas and the Hūṇas. Book II treats of a line of Kashmir rulers, unconnected with Gonanda's dynasty. The third book begins with the restoration of the Gonanda dynasty and mentions several rulers among whom Pravarasena and perhaps Toramāṇa may be recognized as historical figures. Book IV starts with the accession of the Karkoṭa dynasty. Some of the kings belonging to this dynasty, are also known from other sources. The Karkoṭa dynasty was overthrown by the Utpalas. The history of the Utpala dynasty occupies the fifth book of Kalhaṇa. The sixth *taraṅga* of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* describes Kashmir under the descendants of Vīradeva and Abhinava. The seventh book opens with the accession of Saṁgrāmarāja of the Lohara kingdom to the throne of Kashmir and ends with the dethronement and death of Harṣa. The dynasty to which these rulers belonged is regarded as the First Lohara dynasty. The eighth book starts with the accession of the second Lohara dynasty and gives a long account of the reigns of Uccala, Sussala and Sussala's son Jayasiṁha, the reigning sovereign of Kalhaṇa's time. Though the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is a literary production of high merit, it will not be doing justice to Kalhaṇa, if we regard his poem simply as a *mahākāvya.* It is an admirable collection of historical facts presented in an illuminating garb of poetry and soars in the region of fine art. History takes wings from the inimitable pen of Kalhaṇa.

Kalhaṇa generally indicates the materials which he used for his narrative. He mentions several previous writers on the history of Kashmir. Among these were Suvrata 'whose work', he says, 'was made difficult by misplaced learning; Kṣemendra who drew up a list of kings, *Nṛpāvalī,* of which, however, no part was free from mistakes; Nīlamuni, who wrote the *Nīlamatapurāṇa;* Helarāja, who composed a list of kings, in twelve thousand verses; and Śrīmihira or Padmamihira, and the author *Śrī Chavillākara*'. His own work was based on eleven collections of *Rājakathās* or stories about kings and on the works of Nīlamuni. He further tells us that he took the help of many inscriptions, grants and manuscripts to write his book.

Some of the sources mentioned above, which Kalhaṇa used for his narrative, were themselves of uncertain historical character. Hence the early part of his work, especially the first three books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* have become a conglomeration of history and vague legends. The poet-historian, however, shows more precision from the fourth book onwards for which he had probably at his disposal, materials of a truly historical character, presumably coins and inscriptions, as well as other indigenous sources. The seventh and eighth books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* are graphic and full of facts. The reason is not far to seek, Kalhaṇa was a contemporary of the mornarchs of the eighth book and for the history of Harṣa and other immediately preceding rulers, he had most probably informations from his father and other older contemporaries.

Inspite of the lack of historical materials in the early portions of his work, Kalhaṇa's splendour of imagination, depth and range of thought and above all the power of centralizing many talents to a single purpose, had given his *Rājatarangiṇī* a literary immortality. Among the special merits of Kalhaṇa as a historian, Stein mentions his impartiality and independence, individuality of his characters, accuracy of geneological statements, high sense of historical truthfulness in later parts of the Chronicle and exactness of topographical details.[97] To these may be added his rare sense of appreciation of the philosophy of history, a quality rare among the writers of the past. Kalhaṇa's account is not written to enforce any particular lesson. He lets his tale tell itself in the deeds and words of those who act it out. This of course does not mean that he confines himself to a mere report. Beside the narrator stands the thinker, explaining the facts by causes and reasons, exposing the principles which underlie them. But he does not use the facts to illustrate his thesis, much less does he manipulate them to fit a doctrine of his own; his philosophy waits upon the facts and does not govern them.

We realise the qualities of Kalhaṇa more fully as we pass from him to his continuator, Jonarāja. Jonarāja's account also is clear and authentic, but in it, one misses the mind of a great historian.

The rhetorician Ruyyaka seems to have been a contemporary of Kalhaṇa. He quotes from Mankha's *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* which is said to have been composed between A.D. 1135 and 1145. On the other hand the *Kāvyaprakāśasaṁketa* of Māṇikyacandra written between A.D. 1159-60 refers to Ruyyaka's *Alaṁkārasarvasva*. It is thus evident that Ruyyaka flourished between A.D. 1135 and 1160. His *Alaṁkārasarvasva*[98] is a standard work on figures of speech. His other works include *Sahṛdayalīlā*,[99] 'a short prose-poetic discourse on the qualities of a fashionable gentleman, a charming formula in four chapters', and *Alaṁkārānusāriṇī*,[100] a commentary on Jalhaṇa's *Somapālavilāsa*.

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[97] *R. T.* (Eng. tr. Stein), Vol. I, Intr. pp. 22-41.

[98] Kāvyamālā, Bombay.

[99] Ed. Pishel, Kiel; also ed. Bombay.

Among the minor works which were composed during the last days of the Hindu rule, mention may be made of *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* of Jayadratha.[101] It was probably written in the 12th or 13th century.[102] In a simple *kāvya* style, the book relates in 32 cantos many legends connected with Śiva and his incarnations. Some of these legends are placed in famous Kashmirian *tīrthas* and afford the author a chance to describe the sacred sites of Kashmir.

Another writer, Jayaratha composed a commentary on the *Tantrāloka*. He appears to have lived in the 12th century.[103]

If Jonarāja is to be believed, during the reign of Saṁgrāmadeva (A.D. 1235-52), a poet named Śaka lived in his court and made the king the hero of his compositions.[104] Unfortunately nothing more is known of this poet and his writings.

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[100] See Peterson, *Intr. Subh.*, p. 106.

[101] Kāvyamālā Series No. 61.

[102] Bühler, *Report,* p. 61, 81.

[103] *Ibid*, p. 82.

[104] Jonarāja (Bombay ed.), 107.

CHAPTER VIII

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS

PREHISTORIC EXPLORATIONS HAVE discovered the occurrence of the Quaternary Glacial Cycles in the valley of Kashmir. The chief geological formations of the Ice Age here are the lacustrine deposits called the karewas which overlay the terminal moraines of the first glaciation and are comprised of two groups, lower and upper, differentiated by the moraines of the second glaciation. The fossil remains of *elephas hysudricas* obtained in the lower karewas point to Lower Pleistocene age. The intervening moraines are geologically similar to the boulder conglomerates of Potwar region (District Rawalpindi, West Punjab) which contain Pre-Sohan tools. The upper karewa beds represent the second interglacial age and can be equated with similar deposits in the Sohan valley which present pebble tools and flake tools, the products of the Early Sohan industry.[1] From Kashmir proper, however, no palaeolithic tool has as yet been found and human occupation in Pleistocene Kashmir has still to be proved.

While the evidence of a palaeolithic life is missing, the valley can feel proud for containing remains of a full fledged neolithic culture. From explorations done so far, traces of neolithic settlement have been observed in the valley of Jhelum from Anantnag to Pampur, at Begargund, Gofkral, Hariparigom, Jayādevī udar, Olchibag, Pampur, Panzgom, Sombur and Thajiwor.[2] Besides, Burzahom, in the district of Srinagar, has yielded remains of a flourishing neolithic life.

The neolithic people in the first period of Burzahom were some sort of pit-dwellers. These pits were dug into the karewas, and were either circular or oval at the base with narrow mouth and wide bottom. They were plastered with mud, perhaps to help the ladders to lean against the wall, so that the dwellers could have a comparative easy access into the chambers. Some of the pits were provided with steps, a few had carved niches and

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[1] H. De Terra and T.T. Paterson, *Studies on the Ice Age in India and associated Human Cultures.*

[2] *Indian Archaeology,* 1962-63, *A Review,* p. 9.

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in one instance, an underground passage, joining two pits, was observed. In the interior of the pits, charcoal, ash and pottery were noticed. Evidence of post holes on the top of the mouth and remnants of charred reeds suggest the existence of thatched roof over the pits. The presence of some hearths and small storage pits near the mouth of the dwelling pits possibly indicate that the dwellers shifted to the surface during summer.

The pottery of the early neolithic settlers were hand-made. These were grey, dull-red, brown or buff in colour, had a burnished surface and consisted of dish, bowl, globular pot, offering stand, jar and funnel-shaped vase. Some of the pots had mat-impressed design.

The implements of the people were such tools of stone as polished hand-axes, mace-heads, harvestors. The bone tools, also used by them, are remarkably fine and singularly distinctive.[3]

The second period of Burzahom reveals dwellings built of mud or mud-bricks. The pits of the earlier period were filled up. The pit-mouths were plastered with mud mixed with *chunam* and sometimes coats of red-ochre were applied on them. These served as floors of this phase. The art of pottery takes a more refined form and a new type of black burnished ware appears.[4] Stone and bone tools were, as before, the principal implements but they were of a larger variety. The latter consisted of awls, arrow-heads, harpoons etc. (Plate I). The stone tools, though product of a typical neolithic culture are stylistically dissimilar to the well-known neolithic implements of southern or eastern India.[5]

Unlike period I, period II showed evidence about the disposal of the dead, in the form of burials. Both primary and secondary burials were in vogue.[6]

In period III of Burzahom, large menhirs were erected. Wheel-turned pottery, in addition to the hand-made ones, appear.

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[3] *Indian Archaeology*, 1960-61, *A Review*, pp. 17-19.

[4] This pottery is different from the Northern Black Polished Ware.

[5] *Indian Archaeology*, 1960-61, *A Review*, p. 11; 1961-62, pp. 17-19.

[6] *Indian Archaeology*, 1962-63, *A Review*, pp. 9-10; A. K. Sharma, Neolithic human burials from Burzahom, Kashmir, *Journal of Oriental Institute* (M. S. University, Baroda), XVI, No. 3, March, 1967, pp. 239-242.

Remnants of a rubble wall throw some idea about their building activities. The burial custom, prevalent in the preceding period, continued.[7]

On the basis of the carbon 14 methods, the neolithic phase of Burzthom is dated between *c.* 2300-1500 B.C.[8] The third period continued up to 2nd-3rd century A.D.[9]

From Kalhaṇa's account it appears that large number of monuments were reared up in the Valley from remote times.[10] But besides the neolithic-megalithic culture, hardly any material remain prior to 2nd-3rd century A.D. has survived. Such remarkable absence cannot be ascribed solely to the vandalism of later times. Probably the building methods adopted in the constructions of this period were not adequate to make the buildings survive for any considerable length of time. Some of the remains are likely to have been superimposed by later accretions.

The earliest monumental remains of the historical period are assignable, at Harwan, 3rd to 6th century A.D. and at Uṣkur, 2nd to 5th century A.D. Besides, at Burzahom evidence of habitation datable to a slightly earlier period, has also been observed.[11]

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[7] *Ibid.* The menhirs in Kashmir were not confined to Burzahom alone. They have been reported at Begargund, Gofkral, Hariparigon and Pampur.

[8] D. P. Agrawal, Sheela Kusumgar and M. Unni Krishnan, Radiocarbon dates of samples from N. B. P. Ware and Pre-N. B. P. Ware Levels, *Current Science,* Jan. 5, 1966, 35, No. 1, 4-5.

[9] The relevant facts on the neolithic and megalithic pattern of life are gleaned from the brief reports published so far of the Burzahom excavations, which have been conducted by Khazanchi. De Terra also made a probe at Burzahom by undertaking a small trench, but the work was sketchy. For a report of his work see *Studies on the Ice Age in India and associated Human Cultures;* Excavations at Burjhama, *Miscellanea of the American Philosophical Society* (1936). Gordon's conjectural interpretation of De Terra's work at Burzahom (*Ancient India,* No. 6, pp. 80-83) is untenable.

[10] *R. T.,* I, 86, 93-94, 98, 102-106, 124, 147-48, 170, 306, 341, 111, 336-364, 460-465 etc.

[11] The facts about the nature and the extent of the habitation at Burzahom have not been so far published in detail. From brief excavation reports it appears that this cultural level yielded a red ware, of fine to medium fabric, often slipped and mostly wheel-made, *Indian Archaeology,* 1961-62, *A Review,* p. 19.

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The village of Harwan (ancient Ṣaḍarhadvana) situated not far away from the present capital of Srinagar has yielded archaeological remains consisting of an apsidal temple with a courtyard surrounded by wall, a building complex including a *stūpa* and a chapel and other enclosures built in pebble walls.[12] Though no attempt has been made so far to fix the cultural sequence of Harwan based on stratigraphic evidence, the stylistic consideration of different buildings has rightly been construed to show that the buildings and hence the remains associated with them did not belong to one and the same period.[13] At Harwan large quantities of small pebbles were available. So buildings were constructed at first with pebbles and mud-mortar. The small enclosures as well as the wall around the apsidal caitya built in this fashion thus belong to the earliest structural phase. The pebble style probably could not be a durable structure. Some improvement was made on it when the wall was reinforced with the insertion of irregular blocks of stone at intervals. This type of structure may be called the diaper-pebble style. The apsidal temple was constructed in this style. This technique was replaced by what may be called diaper-rubble style, in which the walls were composed of large untrimmed stones with spaces intervening filled with smaller stones. The *stūpa* and a set of rooms close to it were built in the latest method.

The temple, almost in ruins, is a large apsidal structure, square in front and round at the back. The building accomodation consists of a spacious rectangular antechamber with a circular sanctum behind.

The affiliation of the temple to any particular cult is not revealed by the remains but the plan of the temple which is associated with Buddhist cult, early association of Buddhism with Harwan and presence of a Buddhist *stūpa* of a slightly later period in the same site leaves hardly any doubt about its functional purpose.

The *stūpa* stands on an open quadrangle. It is square in plan with its base in three tiers and is approached by a flight of steps on its western side. The upper part has disappeared but can be reconstructed from a few clay votive tablets bearing in relief miniature *stūpas,* which have been found scattered among the ruins of the environment. Like the existing *stūpa* of Harwan, the *stūpa* depicted on the tablets has a triple base, all the three flights of steps leading up being in line with one another. A cylindrical dome with a bulging hemispherical top towers up from the upper basement which is surmounted by a number of parasols (*chatrāvalī*) in a tapering row of flat discs and diminishing in size, until the topmost one ends in a pointed final. The *chatras* seem to have been supported by a forest of poles radiating onwards. Several waving streamers are attached to the finial.

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[12] For a detailed account of the remians at Harwan see R. C Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, pp. 105-111.

[13] R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, pp. 51, 106.

Apart from the temple and the *stūpa,* Harwan has yielded a large number of moulded brick-tiles. These covered the flooring of the courtyard of the temple as well as the sides of the platform. They are of various shapes and patterns and yield a form of art unique in itself. The style is free from the influence of any other known art-school. The sculptors do not deal with gods and goddesses, Buddha or Bodhisattva as most of the members of that class in other parts of the land do. What they deal with is the life of man and the nature around. The pictures, apparently taken from realities of daily life, represent the entire flora and fauna of the locality. The motifs consist of leaves of aquatic plants which grow in abundance in the lakes of Kashmir, leaves of lotus flowers and other flowers of the locality in full-bloom forms, geese flying or running in rows holding stalks of half bloomed lotuses in their bills, cocks fighting, rams fighting, cows suckling the calves, elephants, deers looking at the moon with head turned backwards, archers on horse back chasing deer and shooting arrows at them, one lady carrying a flower vase, another beating a drum (Plate II, a), a dancing girl, boys carrying a floral festoon on their shoulders, men and women conversing seated in a balcony (Plate II, b), naked mendicants seated in *kākāsana,* various designs consisting of frets, wavy lines, fish bone patterns, conventional flowers and leaves, in fact practically all conceiv-

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able subject matter of human life and nature around. To the potters of Harwan no topic was considered to be too unworthy of attention and they depicted them with a picturesque expression, delineating at the same time all the natural characteristic features of the theme.

The sculpture of Harwan can not be said to be the work of the common people or folk artist. It attains a certain degree of sophistication and derives its inspiration chiefly from the life of the upper class people. The aristocratic gentlemen, who clad in full armour hunted the deers with bows and arrows, enjoyed the dances and music of girls, employed soldiers to guard the door and spent leisure hours in balcony chatting with their beloved ones, as testified by the sculptured tiles themselves were most probably the patrons of the Harwan artists.

A close observation of the physiognomical features of the human figures stamped on the tiles will at once reveal that they are wholly unlike any people who at present inhabit Kashmir or any other part of India. On the other hand, the promient cheek bones, small eyes, receding forehead and heavy features show some resemblance with the people of the regions round about Yarkand and Kashgar. The Turkoman caps and trousers of some of the figures are also reminiscent of the Central Asian tradition. It is not possible to place definitely these people represented in the tiles of Harwan. But it seems probable that they were people who came from Central Asia and afterwards settled in Kashmir. Possibly they were un-Indianised Kuṣāṇas or members of similar tribal stock.

The date of the art of Harwan can not be determined with precision. Votive tablets, depicting miniature *stūpa* with the legend *ye dharma hetuprabhavā* etc. written in Brāhmī script of about the 4th century A.D. have been noticed in the vicinity of the *stūpa* of Harwan and in all probability are more or less contemporaneous with the *stūpa*. Besides, a copper coin of Toramāṇa is recorded to have been noticed under the foundations of the *stūpa*.[14] It is not clear if this coin belonged to Toramāṇa class of coins of Kashmir or to a type definitely assignable to the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa. In anyway, the *stūpa* can not be earlier than the 5th century A.D. Since the diaper-rubble style of the *stūpa*-complex is stylistically later than the diaper-pebble style of the apsidal temple, the temple and its courtyard containing the terracotta tiles should be given a date earlier than that of the *stūpa*. The terracotta tiles contain in them Kharoṣṭhi numerals. It has been suggested that Kharoṣṭhi script ceased to be in vogue in north-western India, about the fifth century A.D.[15] Considering all these points, the temple and the associated terracotta art of Harwan can perhaps be dated to a period round about 300 A.D.

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[14] *Ibid.*

Some of the archaeological remains of Uṣkur are undoubtedly of a later date, the early mediaeval, but a ruined *stūpa* which was afterwards superimposed by another of the Karkoṭa period and a large number of terracotta sculptures may very well be assigned to an earlier period, that is, the post Kuṣāṇa.[16] It is no longer possible to have an idea of the elevation of the *stūpa*. In ground plan, it has a square base and seems to have closely corresponded the contemporary *stūpas* of Gandhāra. The sculptures in their artistic style are much alike to the Jaulian sculptures of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. and may be of the same chronological horizon. They are evidently the products of the second Gandhāra school, which had abandoned the use of hard stone of the first and had adopted stucco in the north-west and terracotta in the more south-easterly provinces as materials for their artistic creations and had developed a style of art, that while it absorbed some of the formalities of the early school, yet had definitely developed a sensitive and romantic style of its own.

The sculptors of Uṣkur generally employed their skill in depicting the heads of Buddha and Bodhisattvas. Sometimes the ascetic or perhaps the lay worshipper could attract them but that was because they too were devotees of Buddha. In fact, the Uṣkur art was a religious one centred round the cult of the Śākya prince. What strikes one most in these terracotta busts

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[15] R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p. 111.
[16] *Ibid*, p. 153.

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is the variety of their wonderful facial expression. Buddha, sometimes in his contemplative look or with eyes closed altogether, appears to be abstracted from the outer world. Bodhisattva Siddhārtha Gautama with a delicate face and a crown over his head is as charming as ever. The emaciated ascetic shows prominent veins coming out on the face. And the lay worshippers sometimes meditative, sometimes with a rude look on the eyes or at times with a rather vacant look, add to the varieties (Plate III, a and b). In spite of the variety of expression, the Uṣkur art is stereotyped and delicacy, rather than vigour is its ringnote. This trend is also discernible in the terracotta figures hailing from Akhnoor, near Jammu.[17]

Nearly two centuries elapsed until the advent of the Karkoṭas opened up a new era in the archaeological field of Kashmir. The intervening period was an age of subdued activity, both in sculpture and in architecture. The architectural remains of the period, like the previous ones at Harwan and Uṣkur, draw their inspiration chiefly from Gandhāra, and the modifications made are modest. The sculptural experiments however are deeply stirred by the examples of the Indian planes where the whole region extending from Mathura to Sarnath, was bustling with a remarkable activity under the Imperial Guptas.

Of the temples of early Kashmir there are at least three which may be approximately assigned to this period. They are the temples of Loduv, Śaṁkarācārya and Narastān. From the stylistic consideration of their sculptured panels, the ruined *stūpas* of Pandreṭhan too may be ascribed to the end of this period.

The temple of Rudreśa at Loduv closely copies the early religious structures of Gandhāra in plan as well as in other broad details. It shows particularly a close resemblance to the *vihāra* of Guniyar in Swat valley. The only difference is that whereas in the *vihāra* the barrenness of the cella is relieved internally by four recesses placed diagonally, at the temple the row of projecting brackets which support the eaves of the roof are replaced by a simple cornice consisting of three courses of projecting filleted blocks. The simplicity of the construction and absence of decorative details point towards an early date. The use of immensely large sized stones which go to the constraction of the Mārtaṇḍa or the Avantisvāmī was unknown to the masons of Loduv. The temple of Rudreśa thus can be approximately placed between the Guniyar (5th century) and the Mārtaṇḍa (8th century), probably nearer to the former whose architectural style it copies.[18] Besides this temple of Rudreśa, there is another temple of a smaller size in the same site.[19] The temple may be slightly later in date as is suggested by the addition of some architectural features of later development. About the date of the Śaṁkarācārya temple on the Takht-i-Sulaiman hill (Plate IV) clusters much controversy. While Cunningham assigns to it such an ancient period as the 3rd century B.C. on the basis of local tradition,[20] the other extreme view that it belongs to the age of Jahangir is held by Fergusson.[21] In the absence of any authentic evidence, Cunningham's view can hardly be taken into consideration. He attributes it to Aśoka's son Jalauka, an attribution unsupported by the architectural style of the temple which is definitely post-Mauryan. The presence of two Persian inscriptions on one of the columns of the inner sanctum, one of which pertains to A.D. 1644 a year in Shahjahan's reign has mainly been responsible for Fergusson's view. Further, he is supported in his theory regarding the architectural features of the temple, by the presence of the horizontal round-headed arch at the bottom of the steps, which, he asserts, must have been copied from the Muslim models. But an authority, contemporary to Aurangzeb, ascribes the temple to Solomon.[22] This tends to show that it had already by that time assumed a legendary character. If this is so, it can scarcely be taken to have been constructed during Jahangir's suzerainty. As for the architectural style it may be pointed out that the true round-headed arch is present in the temple of Loduv which, from its architectural features, can not be placed much later than the 5th century A.D. A comparison of this temple with that of Loduv shows that the two closely resemble each other in outer features, in disposition of parts as well as in ornamentation except for the fact that the Śaṁkarācārya has two offsets on each side. The offsets of the Śaṁkarācārya temple is an improvement on the temple of Loduv, whose exterior is singularly plain and is, therefore, indicative of a slightly later date.[23] Kalhaṇa mentions a king named Gopāditya who built a shrine of Jyeṣṭheśvara on the Gopādri hill.[24] It is not unlikely that the present temple is but the same shrine. In course of time, portions of the inner sanctuary might have been broken down, to be in all probability, retouched in the reign of Shahjahan, whose inscription the cella contains.

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[17] C. L. Fabri, Buddhist Baroque in Kashmir, *Asia*, October, 1939. The view of the writer that the terracottas of Uṣkur and Akhnoor belong to the 8th century A.D. is not convincing.

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[18] R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, pp. 55-56.

[19] *Ibid*, p. 118.

[20] *J. A. S. B.* (1948), ii, p. 247.

[21] Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, I, pp. 254-55.

[22] Catrou, *General History of the Mughal Empire*, p. 54.

The date of the temple of Narastān is uncertain. Stylistically it belongs to a period earlier than that of the Mārtaṇḍa but later than that of the temple crowning the Takht-i-Sulaiman. The pediment and arch-motif of Narastān appear in a more developed form than that of the Śaṁkarācārya, whereas the introduction of an enclosure-wall forming courtyard and a prominent gateway are new features added to the old[25] which reach logical culmination in the magnificent Sun temple of Lalitāditya by further addition of cellular quadrangle and other details.

So far as the *stūpas* of Pāndreṭhan are concerned, one of them is in such a ruined state that only the stairs on the northern and western sides are visible. Another, though dilapidated, has kept a few stones in position, from which the general plan of the building can be restored. The whole structure seems to have been built upon a square basement with recesses in each of the four corners. The drum, though not found in position, was to all appearances elaborately ornamented with sculptural relief, some of which have still survived. The *stūpa* was surrounded by another wall, the lowest corners of which still stand.[26]

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[23] R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p. 60.

[24] *R. T.* I, 341.

[25] R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, pp. 128-131.

The specimens of plastic art, receive their inspiration from the Gupta art of Madhyadeśa which shed radiance all over India. This influence is discernible, not only on the coin of Pravarasena II, which closely follow the coin type of the Imperial Guptas,[27] but also on a larger scale, on the carvings of stone of which Pāndreṭhan was main centre. Of the art objects recovered from the Buddhistic ruins mention may be made of several images of Buddha. One standing in *abhayamudrā,* with broad and well developed chest, thin waist and a spiritual and compassionate expression in the face appears to be prototype of the Sarnath Buddha.[28] Another shows drapery very similar to that of the Mathura Buddha of the Gupta period and halo ornamented with beads.[29] An Avalokiteśvara image, heavily ornamented, may easily be grouped under the same art idiom.[30] But the finest specimen is a relief sculpture which depicts the birth of Siddhārtha (Plate V, a). Māyā, Buddha's mother, apprehending the coming of her child started for her father's home. On the way, she felt the pains of travail and gave birth to the prince. In the sculpture, the queen mother is seen in the middle, holding the branch of the Aśoka tree in her right hand while the left rests on her sister Prajāpati who appears on the right of the picture. On the extreme left is a figure, who probably represents the god Indra, who, according to tradition came to offer adoration after the birth of Buddha. A female figure on the top of the relief holds a *chouri.* The plastic representation of the whole scene is extremely charming. The well-developed bodies, graceful poise, delicate features of the face and such technical details as long thin elastic fingers with tips backwards, reveal fully the great influence that the Gupta art-phase exerted at the time on the local art of Kashmir.

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[26] Dayaram Sahni, Pre-Muhammedan Monuments of Kashmir, *Ann. Report, A. S. I.,* 1915-16, p. 61.

[27] Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India,* p. 43.

[28] R.C. Kak, *Handbook of the Archaeological and Numismatic Sections of the Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar,* p. 29.

[29] *Ibid,* p. 33.

[30] Dayaram Sahni, *Ann. Rep. A. S. I.,* 1915-16, pl. XLVII, fig. b.

The advent of the Karkoṭas gave a strong impulse to art and architecture. Huge monumental structures, *stūpas, caityas* and temples were reared up all over the valley. Most of these are in complete ruins, but the surviving few like the magnificent ashlar dressed limestone *stūpa, vihāra* and *caitya* of Parihāsapura, *stūpa* of Huviṣkapura, the imposing Mārtaṇḍa and the temple groups of Wagnath stand as the sole representative of an age of great artistic activity.

The *stūpa* of Parihāsapura consists of a double platform, one above the other for the circumambulation of the shrine. The basement is square in plan with a projection on each face; stairways are placed in the middle of projection. The upper structure of the *stūpa* has completely collapsed, the ruins of which cover the top of the base. A large massive block of stone with a deep hole in the middle has been recovered among the ruins. It is suggested that this stone belonged to the finial of the *stūpa* and that the hole is the mortice in which was embedded the lower end of the staff of the stone unbrellas crowning the drum.[31] Blocks of round torus stones with slanting bands and fillets have been found scattered in the site. As these stones were not used in the base, it is likely that they were placed on the string course of the drum. The drum of the *stūpa* seems to have been ornamented with niches containing the figure of Buddha and Bodhisattvas lying on the spot. The whole structure was surrounded by an enclosure wall. The only *stūpa* whose erection at Parihāsapura has been recorded by Kalhaṇa was that founded by Caṅkuṇa, the Tukhāra minister of Lalitāditya.[32] The identity of this *stūpa,* the only building of this kind to be found at Parihāsapura with the lofty structure of Caṅkuṇa is likely.

The vihāra of Parihāsapura is a quadrangle of twenty-six cells surrounding an open courtyard. The cells are preceded by a verandah supported on pillars. The structure has an opening in the east with flights of steps. Kalhaṇa says that Lalitāditya built a large monastery in the town of Parihāsapura, called Rājavihāra.[33] A second vihāra is said to have been founded in the same place by his minister Caṅkuṇa.[34] It is difficult to say which of them is represented by the existing monastery.

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[31] R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir,* p. 147.

[32] *R. T.* IV, 211.

The *caitya* of Parihāsapura is a square chamber surrounded by a circumambulatory passage and supported on a set of four columns. A flight of steps on the east leads to the entrance. The inner chamber contains a single block of stone on which the object of worship probably rested. The whole courtyard is surrounded by a wall. The roof was most probably like the Brahminical temples, pyramidal in shape.

Kalhaṇa mentions in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that Lalitāditya built at Huviṣkapura a large *vihāra* with a *stūpa*.[35] The remains of the basement of a ruined *stūpa* found at Uṣkur may represent the same. In its ground plan, the *stūpa* surrounded by a wall closely corresponds to that of Parihāsapura.

The noblest architectural survival of the Karkoṭa period is the temple of Mārtaṇḍa (Plate VI) which has been very aptly described by a critic as the veritable lion of Kashmirian architecture. Situated on the tableland of Maṭan, overlooking the green plains below, intersected by rivers, lakes and villages in the environments and surrounded by snow-capped mountains, the temple commands a grand view. The simple dignity and massiveness of the architectural style also stand in close comformity with the grandeur of its natural position.

The design of the Mārtaṇḍa consists of a central structure composed of the *garbhagṛha*, the *antarāla* and the *ardha maṇḍapa* with a small chapel on either side of the half temple, standing within a rectangular courtyard surrounded by a cellular quadrangle with an imposing gateway for the entrance. The whole structure stands upon a raised plinth. The roof of the temple has completely disappeared. Though many sur-

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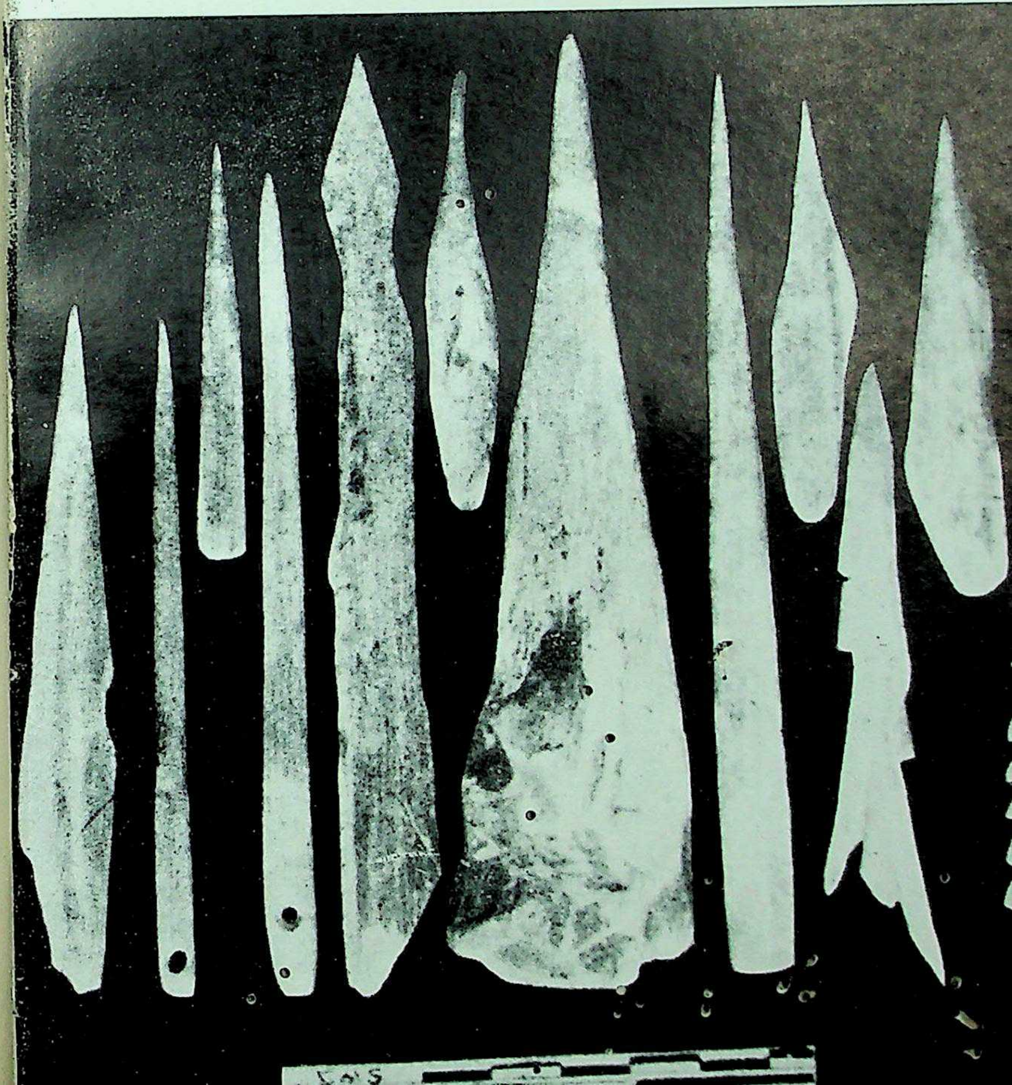
[33] *R. T.*, IV, 200.

[34] *R. T.*, IB 211.

[35] *R. T.*, IV, 188.

Plate I. Polished Bone Tools, Burzahom



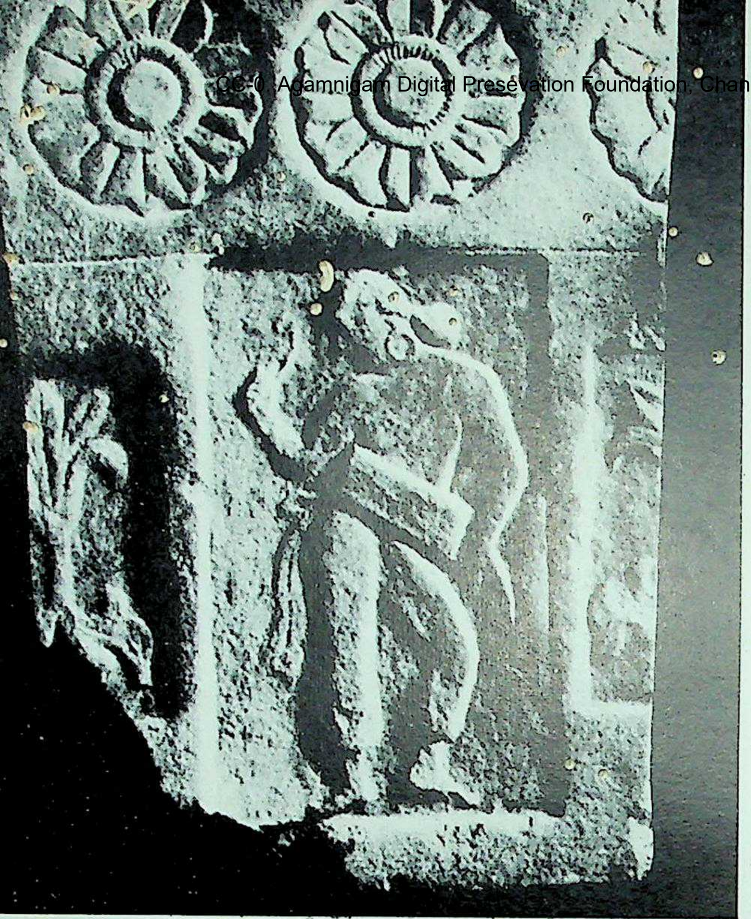


Plate II (a).
Female Musician,
Playing on a Drum,
Harwan

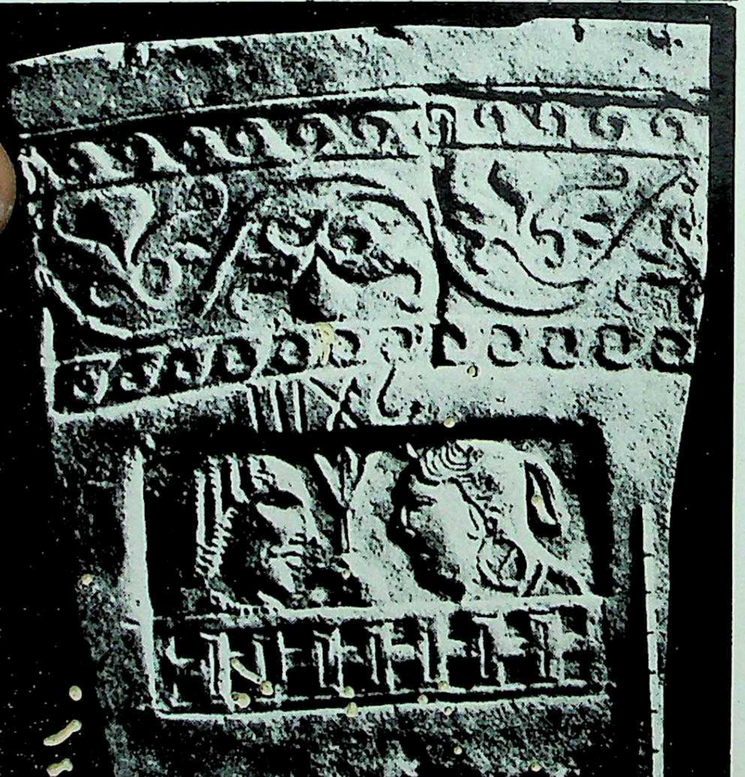


Plate II (b).
Man and Woman
Facing each other
Seated in a Balcony,
Harwan

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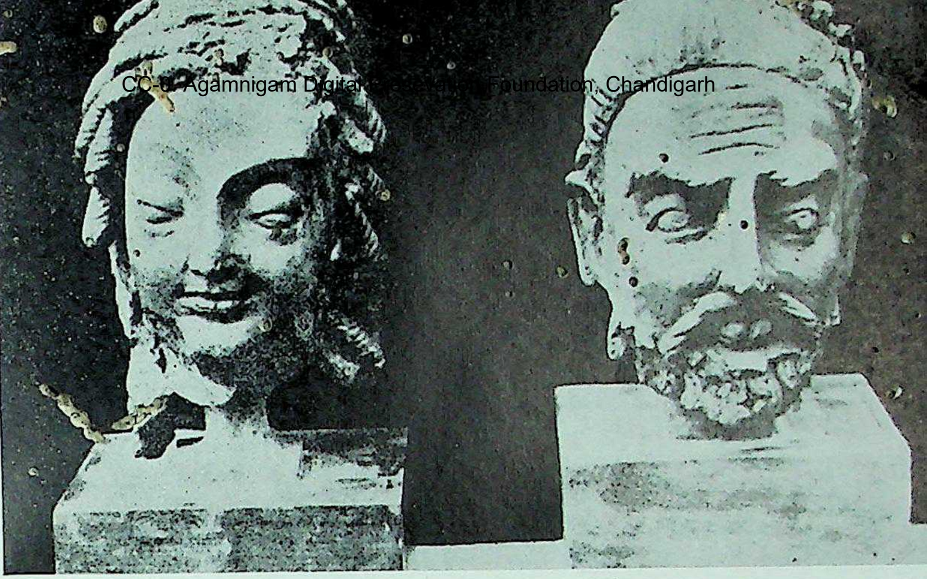
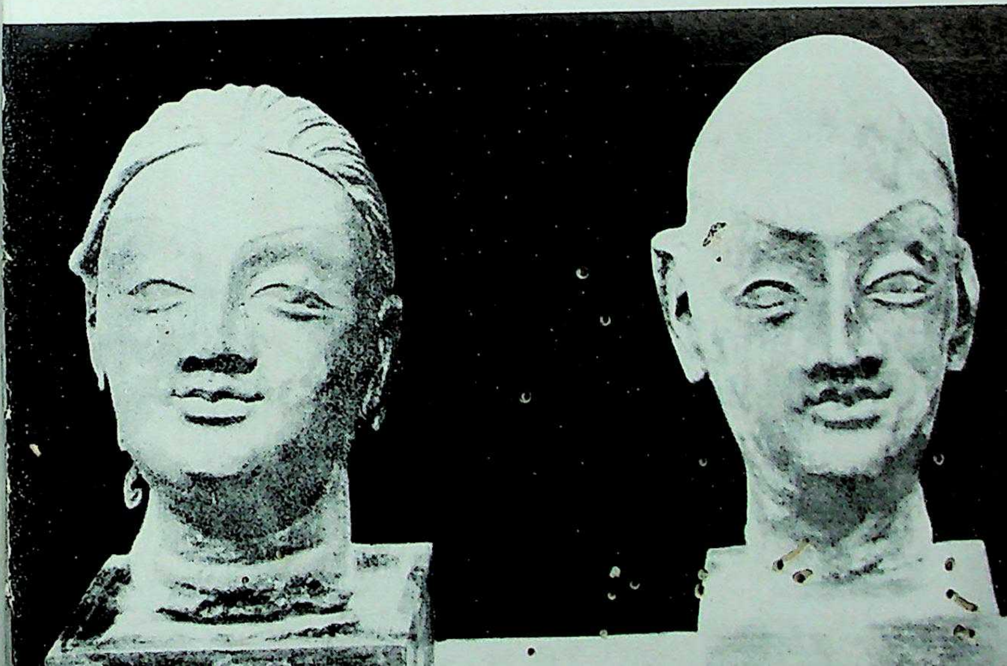


Plate III (a). Terracotta Heads, Uṣkur

Plate III (b). Terracotta Heads, Uṣkur



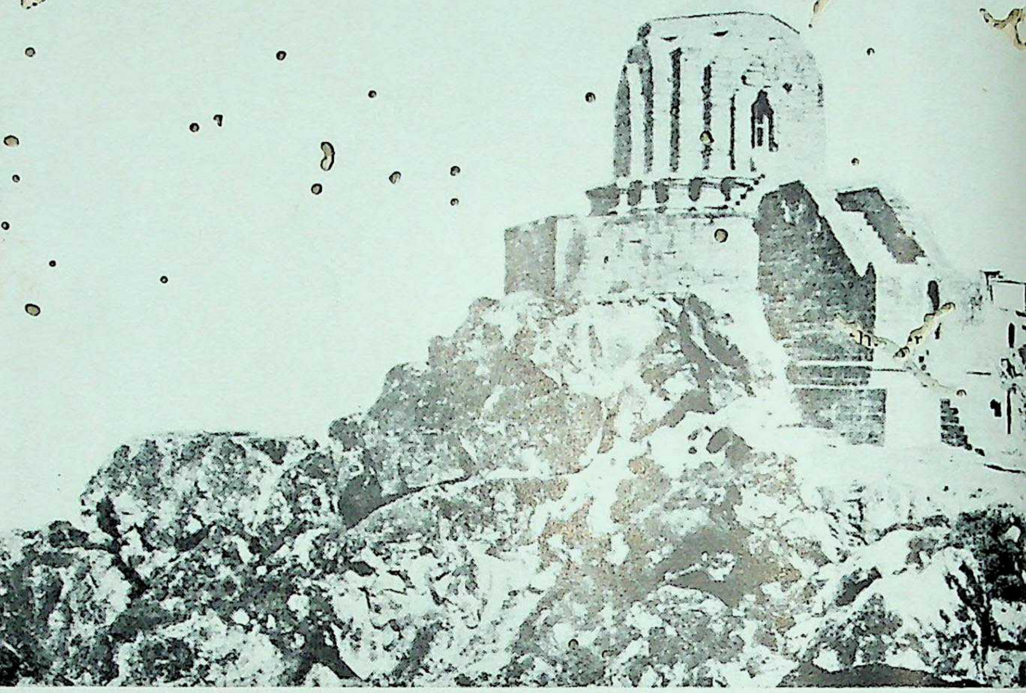


Plate IV. Śaṁkarācarya Temple, Takht-i-Sulaiman Hill

Plate V (a). Birth of Siddhārtha, Pāndreṭhan

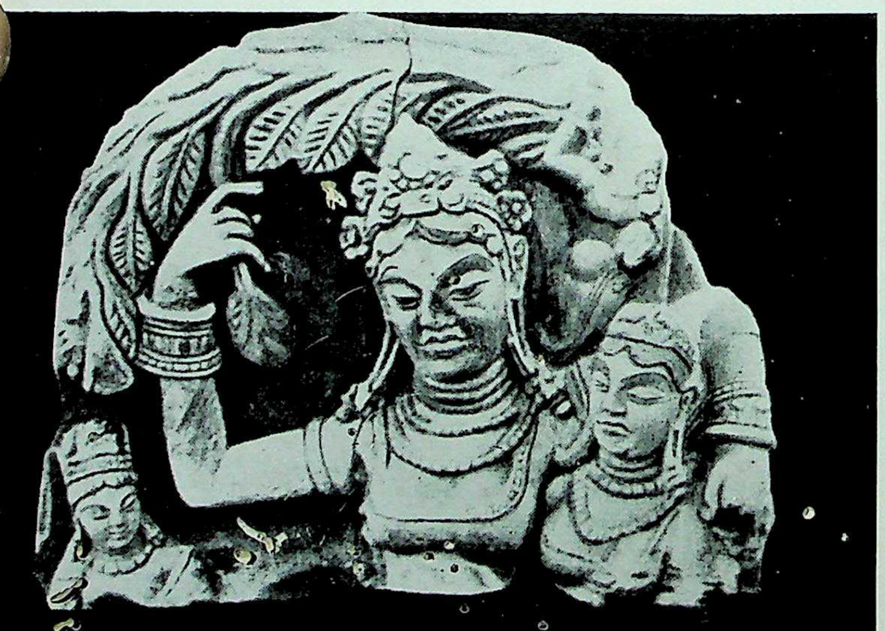
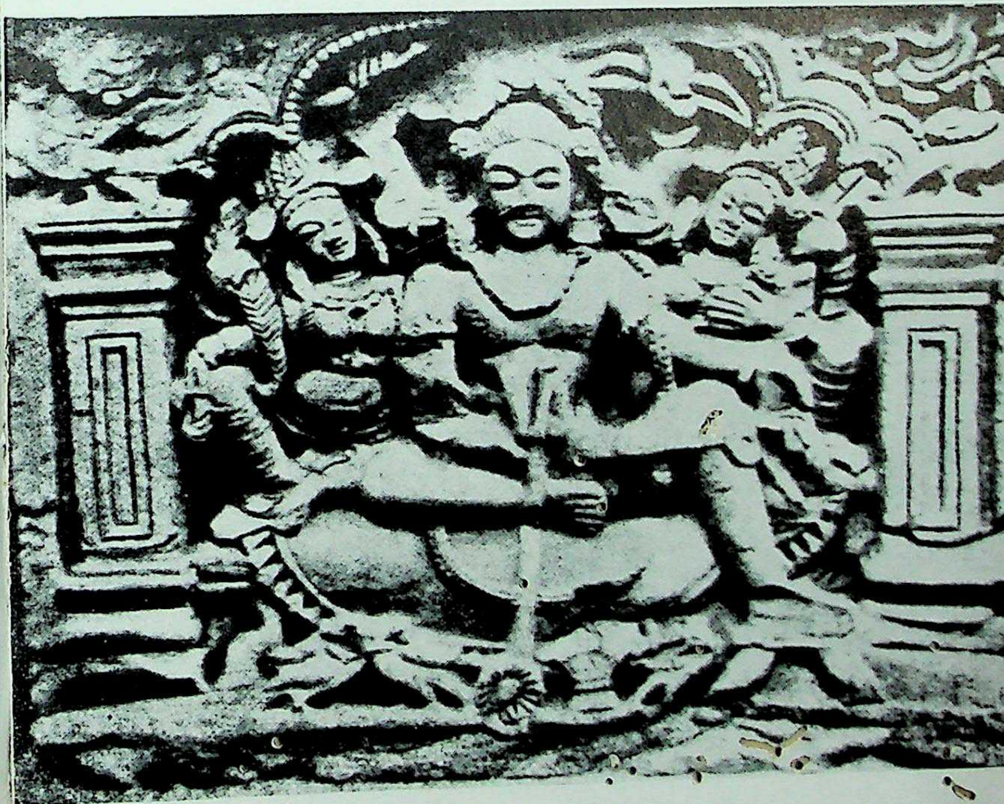


Plate V (b). Kāmadeva Seated between Rati and Prīti, Avantipur



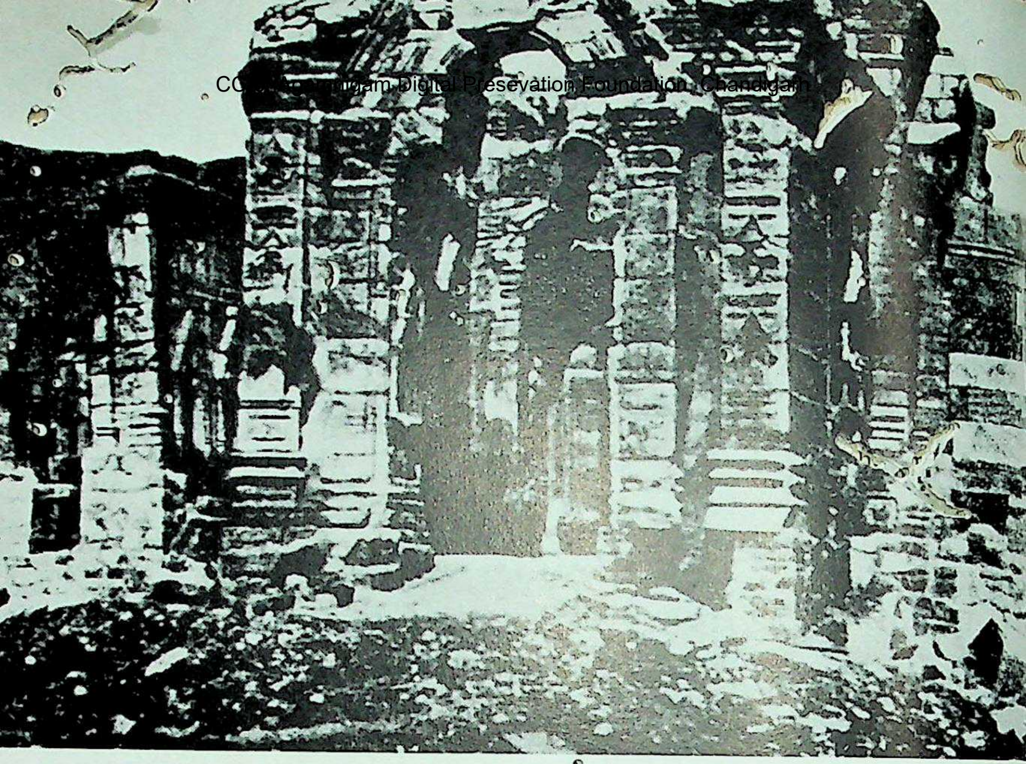


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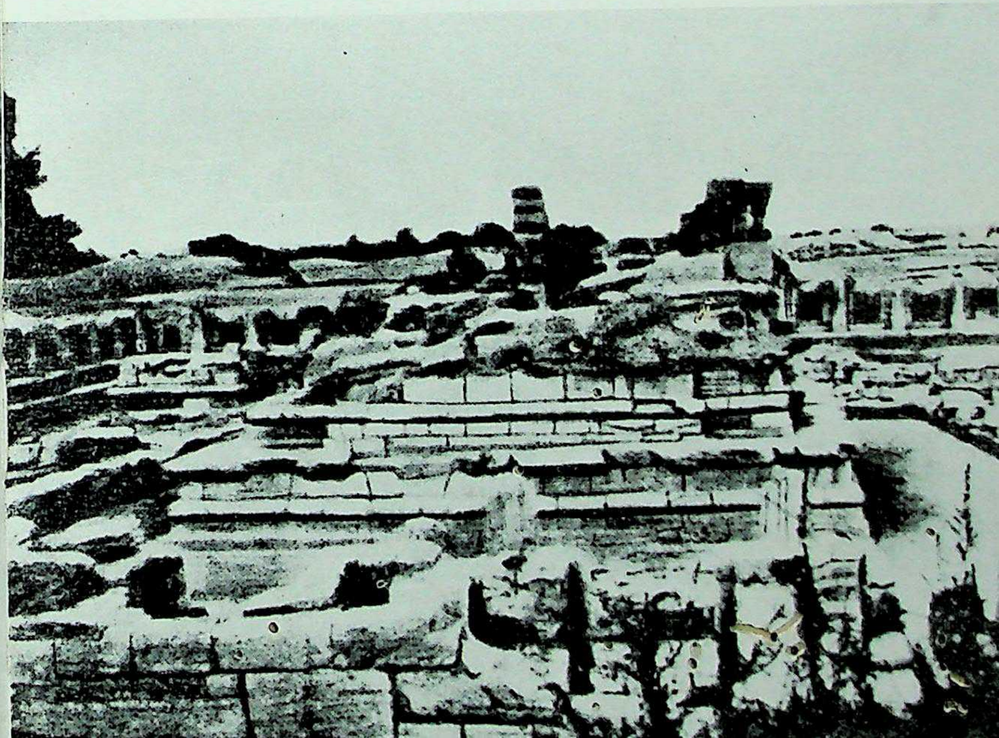
Plate VI Mārtaṇḍa Temple, general view, Maṭan

Plate VII (a). Avantisvāmī Temple, general view, Avantipur



EXCAVATIONS AT AVANTIPURA KASHMIR

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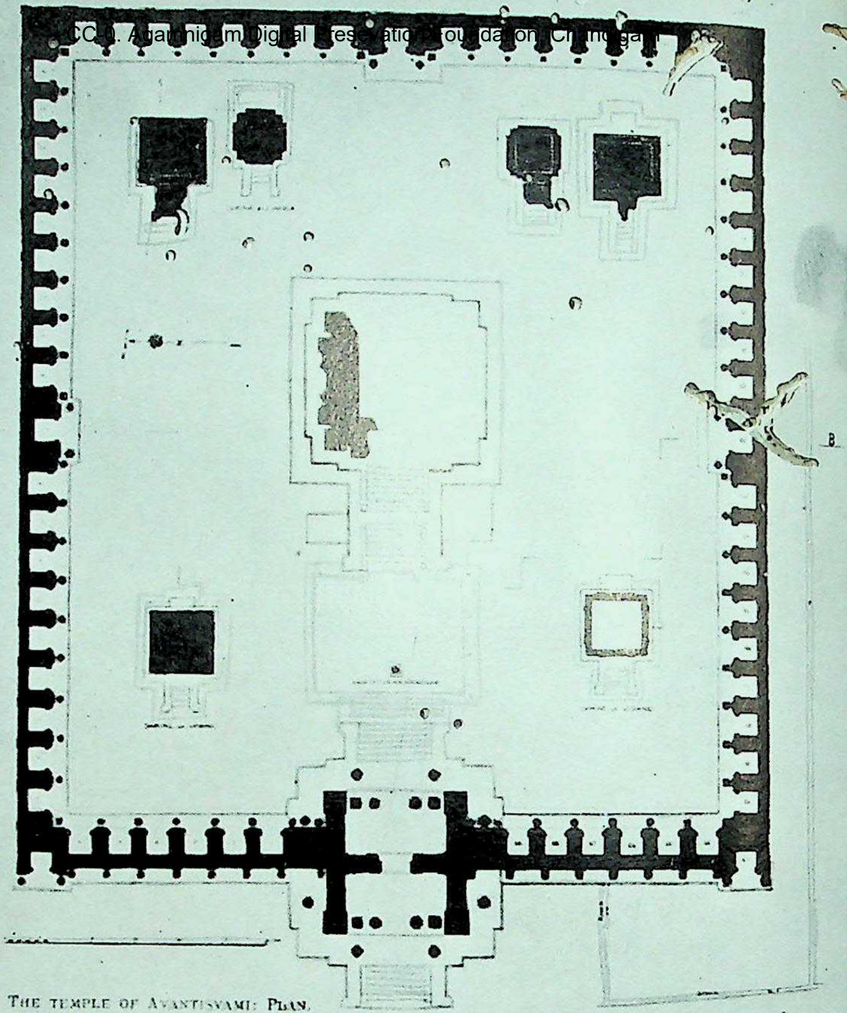
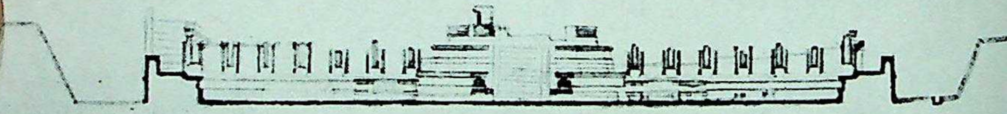


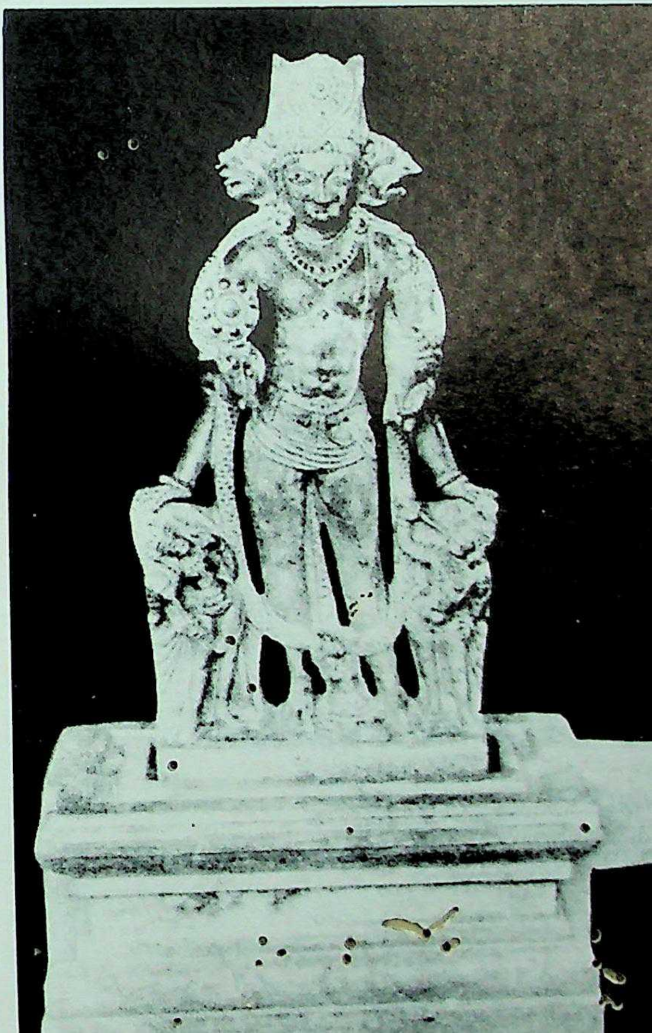
a. THE TEMPLE OF AVANTISVAMI: PLAN.



b. THE SAME: SECTION.

Plate VII (b). Avantisvāmī Temple, Plan and Section

Plate VIII (a) Caturātman Viṣṇu, Avantipur, front view



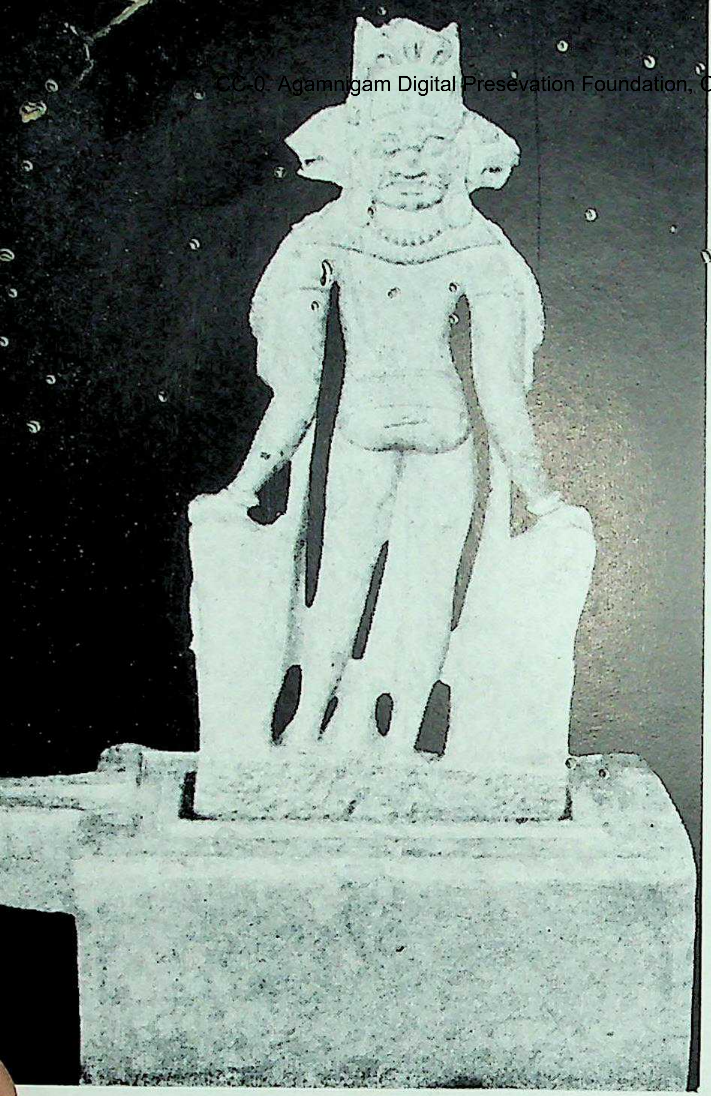


Plate VIII (b). Caturātman Viṣṇu, Avantipur, back view

Plate X. Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi, Pratap Singh Museum

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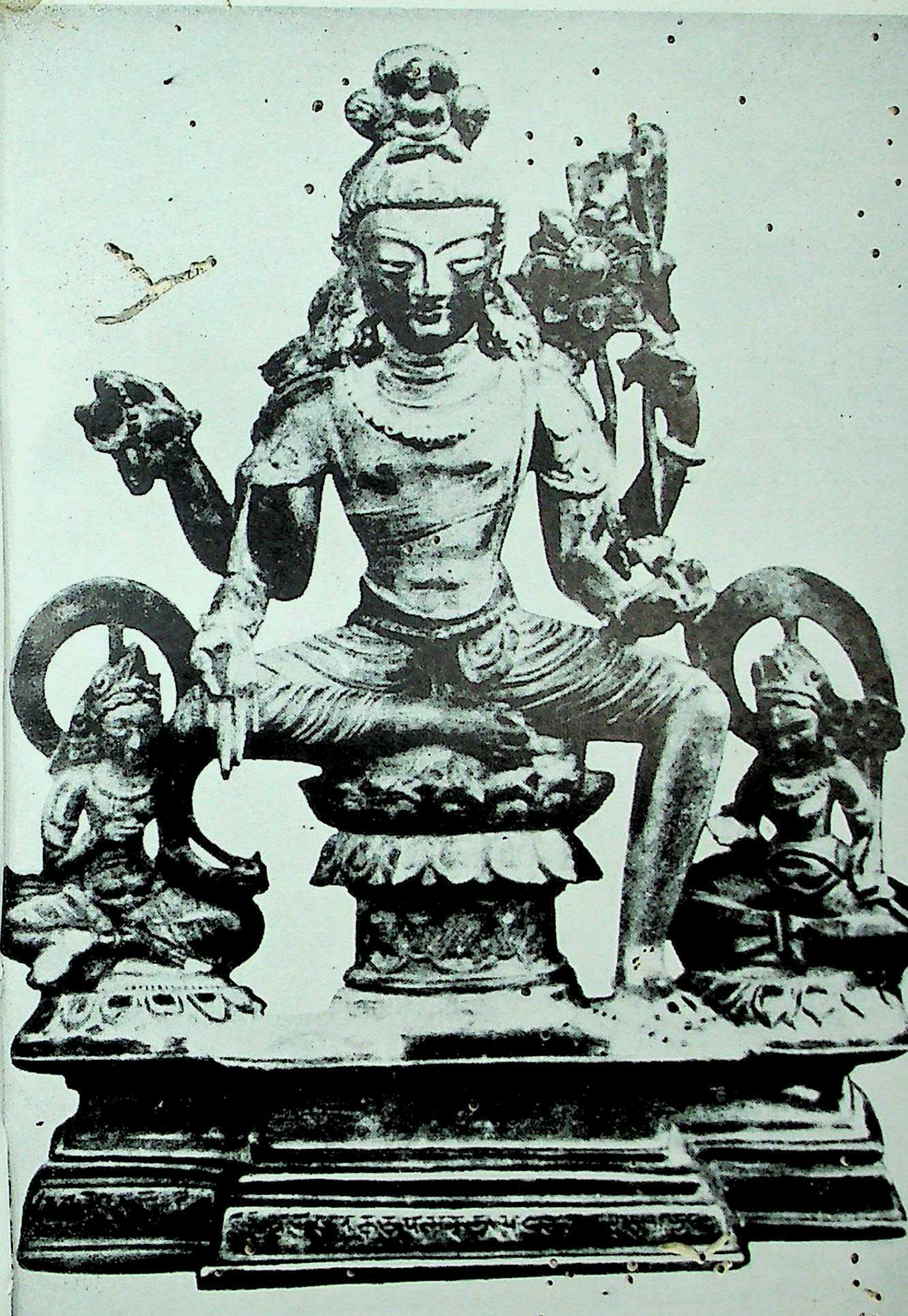

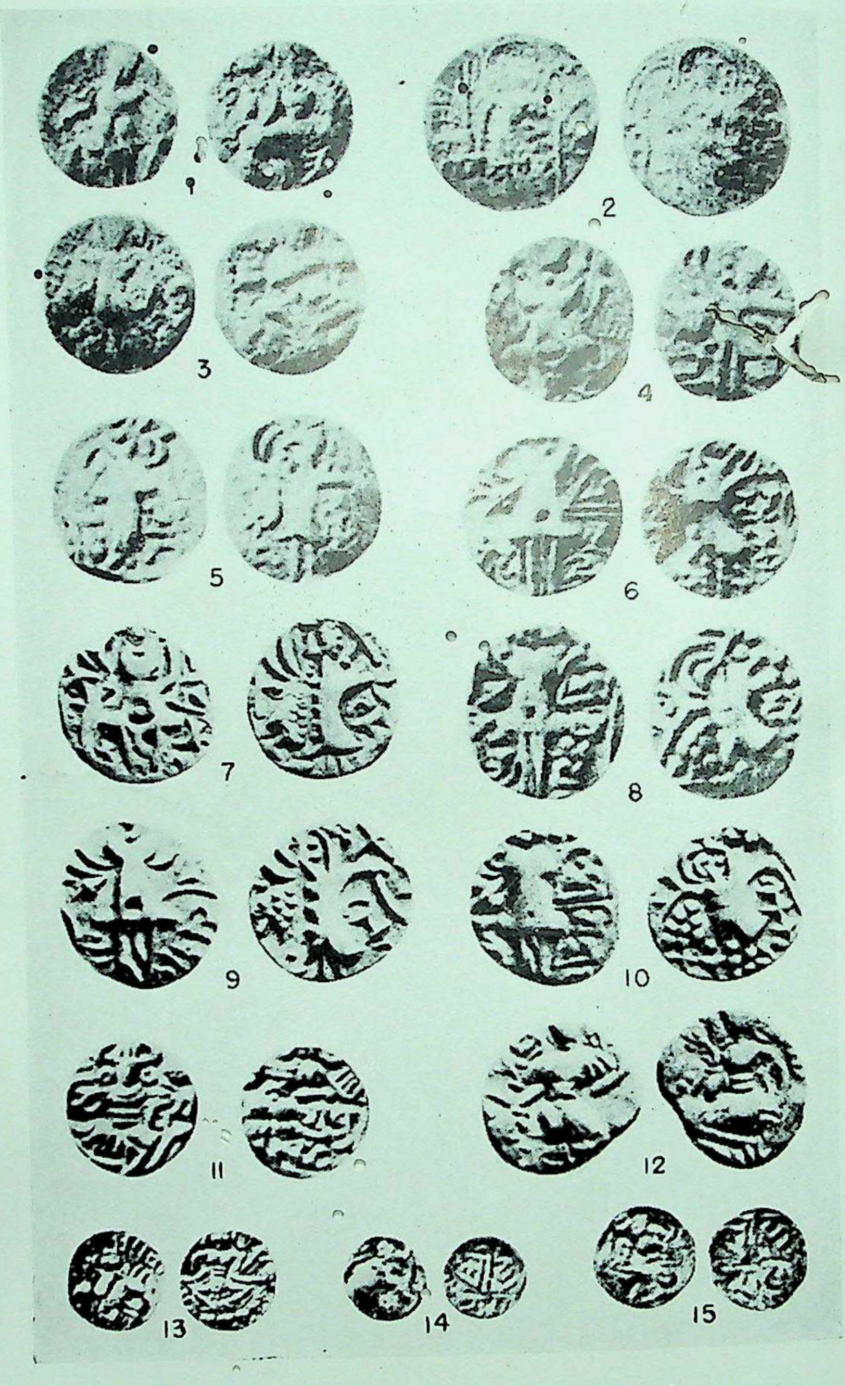
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Plate X. Coins of Ancient Kashmir

mises have been put forward regarding its form and material, the view originally held by Cunningham that it was of usual pyramidal type and constructed of stone seems plausible enough.[36]

According to Cunningham, the central shrine with its adjuncts was built by Ārya Rājā and Raṇāditya between A.D. 370 and 500 while the peristyle was the construction of Lalitāditya.[37] But the passage in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* concerning the building of the Mārtaṇḍa temple shows that the whole edifice was erected during Lalitāditya's reign.[38]

To the north-west of Śrīnagara, near the village of Wagnath, stand three groups of buildings. The southern group, surrounded by an enclosure wall consists of as many as seven temples. The principal temple, square in plan with entrances on the east north-west and west south-west and with closed niches on the other two sides is generally taken to be the Jyeṣṭheśa temple said to have been built by Lalitāditya in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. In the northern group, there are six temples of which the principal one closely tallies with the largest temple of the southern group both in style and dimensions. Probably this was the Bhūteśa temple built by Lalitāditya.[39] The third group in the midway is in an extremely dilapidated state and can not be placed to any definite chronological setting.

The charms of the Gupta art could not keep the artists of Kashmir spell bound for long. The mighty vigour of Kashmirian life which led to the rise of the Karkoṭas also tried to manifest itself in the realm of plastic art. The result was the outcome of a heavy, thick and bold type of sculptures. Some of these have been found at Vijabror, a few at Pāndreṭhan, some on the walls of the Mārtaṇḍa and others at places not accurately recorded. Of the remarkable specimens, showing this vigorous mood and a transition from the typical sculptures of the Gupta period, mention may be made of a female figure (Lakṣmī) in Graeco-Roman attire, who in her heavy features, elaborate ornaments, and well-developed body represents an altogether different artistic concept,[40] a Viṣṇu image in which the broad and straight shoulders add a deliberate stiffness,[41] a sculptural representation of Kārttikeya, the generalissimo of the gods[42] whose muscular features, folded drapery, long tunic, and streamers attached to the back of head falling sideways in Sassanian fashion give an imposing appearance. Boldly executed figure of a Cāmuṇḍā from Pāndreṭhan[43] may be broadly placed under the same group. The relief figure of Sūrya sitting upon a horse on the walls of the Sun temple of Mārtaṇḍa in its bold and heavy features recalls the same artistic tradition.[44]

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[36] *J. A. S. B.* (1848), ii, p. 267.
[37] *Ibid*, pp. 259-263.
[38] *R. T.*, IV, 192.
[39] *R. T.*, (Eng. Tr.), Stein, Vol. I, p. 194.

The plastic art of the Karkoṭa period attained distinction marked by force and vigour. But it lacked in delicacy and refinement. The only exception was the Buddhist establishment of Parihāsapura, where Buddhist sculptures continue to carry on the traditions of the Gupta art. But at Parihāsapura the vitality of the Gupta art of Pāndreṭhan is absent. The tender modelling as well as the facial and physiognomical type of Buddha and Bodhisattva image[45] closely resemble the last phase of the Gupta art as exemplified in the late Gupta and mediaeval sculptures of Sarnath.[46] The attitude of the founder as well as the subject matter may account for the difference in the style, which is distinct from the robust idiom that manifested mainly through Brahminical icons.

The architectural and artistic trends of the Karkoṭa period reach a logical culmination in the next generation under the Utpalas. The temple of Avantisvāmī, built in Avantivarman's reign (A.D. 855/56-883) with its courtyard, peristyle and basement of the central shrine appears to have been a very complete conception (Plate VII, a and b). But for the fact that it is a temple of the *pañcāyatana type,* with an independent replica structure of the central shrine in each of the four angles of the courtyard, it copies closely the plan of Mārtaṇḍa having a rectangular courtyard, penetrated by a gateway which is a replica of the central shrine standing at the middle of the courtyard, the quadrangle being surrounded by a cellular colonnaded peristyle. There is also hardly anything new in the architectural style. But compared with the temple of Mārtaṇḍa, the Avantisvāmī temple is a more refined product of art.

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[40] R. C. Kak, *Handbook*, p. 59.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

[43] *Marg*, VIII, No. 2, March, 1955, p. 67, fig. 4.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 66, fig. 3.

[45] R. C. Kak, *Handbook*, pp. 42-44.

[46] It has been suggested that these Buddhist statues of Parihāsapura are obvious copies from T'ang Chinese statues, H. Goetz, The beginnings of mediaeval art in Kashmir, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, vol. 21, News Series, September, 1952, part 2, p. 75. The conclusion arrived at is based on superficial analogy of isolated objects and does not appear to be convincing.

Of the other buildings of the Utpala period, the temple of Avantīśvara, also built by Avantivarman, is sadly mutilated. But the extensive courtyard indicates that it must have been one of the best achievements in the field of architecture. The temple of Buniar composed of a lofty central edifice, standing within a large quadrangle, surrounded by a colonnade of fluted pillars with intervening trefoiled-headed recesses, is so similar to the temple of Avantisvāmī that it can very well be placed in this period. The Dhāthamandir on the Jhelum road is of the same style as Buniar minus the latter's columns in the peristyle and may be assigned to the same age. The temples of Paṭan, the Sugandheśa and the Śaṁkaragaurīśvara, were built during Śaṁkaravarman's reign and closely resemble the Avantisvāmī. Though in ruins, the second one appears to have been particularly imposing. But kings, with resources wasted in the battlefield, have already started robbing the materials of the earlier temples, to decorate their newly built ones. The sign of decadence has already set in.

The temple architecture of Kashmir has got certain peculiar characteristics of its own. The principal features consist in the classical design of the temple, the presence of trefoil arch within high pitched triangular pediment, the use of pyramidal roof and dome-shaped ceiling and the employment of fluted pillars with capital resembling the Doric order.

The temple of ancient Kashmir was conceived as a whole leaving no opportunity for further addition. In this respect it is different from the temples of the plains of India. The cellular quadrangle, with the central structure in the middle of the courtyard, was undoubtedly copied from the monastery of the Buddhists. The trefoiled arch, which is invariably present in the recess or niche of a Kashmirian temple, seems to be copied from the *stūpas* and monasteries of Gandhāra. The pediment too has its prototype in some of the oldest structures of the same land. The straight sided pyramidal roof of the Kashmirian temples fundamentally differs from the roofs of the temples of India proper, which were either of the carved pyre or of the stepped roof type. The pyramidal shape was necessitated by the climate of the valley, where snowfall is a common feature. Two types of ceiling are mainly discernible in the temples. One of these was formed of overlapping stones, a system followed in the plains of India also. But the other type, the dome-shaped, was peculiar to Kashmir. These domes were hemispherical in shape. They were constructed of concentric horizontal courses, each circle projecting beyond the one below it. The opening of the top was closed with a single slab in which a lotus was sometimes engraved. The cella being square, the plan was first reduced to the circle by filling in corners with light pendentives. As to the pillars used in the temples all authorities agree that they were of Doric order. There is, however, some difference which may be observed in the style. Though the upper member of both is an ovolo, the Kashmirian column is decorated with the design of a series of full blown lotus petals. The abacus of the Kashmirian pillar is also different in as much as it possesses ranges of mouldings over it. The Doric columns have twenty flutes, but the number of flutes in the columns of Kashmir varies from twelve to twenty-four. Some of the classical features in the architecture of Kashmir are undoubtedly to be sought in Gandhāra, to the artistic conventions of which ancient Kashmir owed a great debt. But whereas in Gandhāra architecture the capital is invariably Corinthian, in Kashmir, it is quasi-Doric. This may indicate that the sources of Kashmirian sytle did not come wholly from Gandhāra.

Turning to the plastic art of the Utpala period, as perceived through the medium of different Brahminical icons, we can not

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but note that it has assumed a distinctive national character. Even in the Karkoṭa period, an attempt was made to create a vigorous type of art, free from the yoke of the Gupta idiom. But generally speaking the attempt was confined to an experimental stage. Even if there were bold works of art, the same lacked considerably in grace, and where there was attempt to carry on the graceful traditions of the Guptas, the same degenerated into an effeminate form. It was under the Utpalas, that a balance between grace and vigour, elegance and strength was successfully worked out. The four-headed (*caturātman*) Viṣṇu, heavily ornamented and clad in *dhoti* with a dagger attached to the jewelled girdle at the waist, is the most popular figure of the period (Plate VIII, a and b). The icon, in relief, already appears on the walls of the Mārtaṇḍa, where because of the relief, the demoniac head is hidden. Of the three faces of the deity, the human at the centre and those of lion and boar on the two sides are visible. But the deity assumes a truly national character only in the age of the Utpalas. The powerfully massive form of his physique is shaped with vigour and discipline, every lineament indicating a masterful force. The facial expression is in sharp contrast with the earlier passionless calm features of Buddha and Bodhisattva of Pāndreṭhan and Parihāsapura on the one hand and blunt and plain Viṣṇu head of Vijabror on the other hand.[47] The wide awake and piercing eyes, closely pressed lips and acquiline nose present a face that indicates an overwhelmingly powerful will dominating all the features of the mind. Even the dagger attached to the waist appears to represent an external symbol of the unbending disposition of the god.[48]

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[47] The possession of only one head, simple flower wreath in place of elaborate diadem and general technique undoubtedly point to an earlier date for the Vijabror piece, in comparison with the four-headed typical Viṣṇu image of the later Karkoṭa and Utpala period.

48. For the full significance and iconographic import of the *caturātman* Viṣṇu, see J. N. Banerjee, Mediaeval Viṣṇu images from Kashmir and some Viṣṇudharmottara passages, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congresss*, IV (1940), pp. 61-64; S. C. Ray, A note on an unpublished Viṣṇu image from Kashmir, *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVIII (1951), pp. 251-53.

Other sculptures too, Kāmadeva seated between his consorts Rati and Prīti (Plate V, b), Kṛṣṇa amidst the scenes of his life, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Śiva Trimurti, Ardhanārīśvara, Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa, goddess Śrī[49], icons all so much varied, reveal the same innate vigour and force, though quite graceful in their external manifestation.

In the art and architecture of Kashmir, a declining trend is clearly discernible with the end of the Utpalas. No imposing monument like those of the previous period is reared up. The temples of this period, Bumāzuv, Koṭher, Pāyer, Pāndreṭhan and Māmal are quite humble and there is hardly anything notable in their architecture. In plastic art, the same mediocrity is visible. The virility and masterfulness of the art of Avantivarman is replaced by a stereo-typed and degenerated form, as can be seen in the relief sculptures of Pāyer or in a temple of Marul-Udaipur, Lahul executed under the patronage of a queen of Kashmir. The only interesting element in the art of this period is the presence of some fine bronzes. One of these is a bronze figure of Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi seated on lotus and flanked by his female *śaktis* with an inscription engraved in the base purporting that it was consecrated during the reign of queen Diddā (Plate IX). Another is the frame of an image depicting the avatāra-forms of Viṣṇu.[50] These as well as some bronzes hailing from neighbouring regions show distinct influence of the Pāla art of eastern India, which might have infiltrated in the Himalayan kingdoms, through Tibet and Ladakh. But the influence does not appear to mature in any fresh or large scale activity to shape the artistic traditions of the Valley.

A further deterioration sets in in the art of Kashmir after twelfth century. There is hardly any structural remain worth mentioning and a few sculptural specimens that have survived are crude. The sufferings emanating from internecine wars, invasions from neighbouring countries and consequent economic impoverishment froze all artistic activity. As pointed out by a critic when Kashmir was converted into Islam, her Hindu art was already dead.

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[49] *Ann. Rep. A. S. I,* 1913-14, pls. XXVII, XXVIII; Kak, *Handbook,* p 50 ff.

[50] H. Goetz, A masterpiece of mediaeval Kashmir metal art: king Saṅkaravarman's frame for an image of Buddha avatāra, beginning of the tenth century A.D. in the Srinagar Museum, *Journal of the Asiatic Society,* Letters Vol. IX, No. 1, 1953, pp., 45-46. The view of the author that it belonged to the time of Śamkaravarman, is however, not warranted by facts.

CHAPTER IX

COINAGE

THE VALLEY OF Kashmir does not appear to have shared the early traditions of coinage with the rest of India in as much as neither the punch-marked nor the cast copper variety of north Indian coins have so far been noticed there. It has been recorded in some quarters that the coins of the Indo-Greeks, the Scythians and the Parthians have been noticed in Kashmir in abundance.[1] Whether their circulation in the valley indicated a politcal domination of the country by the strikers or they found a shelter as a result of intense commercial intercourse, it is difficult to say.[2]

According to literary evidence, the Kuṣāṇas ruled in early centuries of the Christian era. Their rule over the Valley seems to have been fairly well established. It is very likely that coins issued by these rulers were actually in circulation in Kashmir as media of exchange. But in the absence of recorded finds, a clear picture does not emerge.[3]

Numismatic evidence unmistakably points out that after the Imperial Kuṣāṇas, the Kidāra-Kuṣānas came to rule in Kashmir. The gold coins of the Kidāras closely follow the Imperial Kuṣāṇa type having king standing on the obverse and goddess seated on the reverse. There is in addition, the word Kidāra written in Brāhmī characters of about the fourth-fifth century A.D.[4] This coin type, including the legend *Kidāra* though in a somewhat crude form was adopted on the coins of the local rulers of Kashmir from about the sixth century A.D. and continued to be in use up to the ninth century. It is unlikely that the kings of Kashmir would have adopted the Kidāra-Kuṣāṇa type on their coins if those coins were not already in circulation in their territories. A Kashmirian poet of the ninth century remarks that coins of his time were called *kedāras*.[5] Evidently, the name prevailed in reminiscence of the strikers of the proto-type. Unfortunately, the provenance of the gold Kidāra coins have not been fully recorded. Though Kidāra-Kuṣāṇa gold coins are found in different collections, it can not be said which of these actually hailed from the Valley.

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[1] R.C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p. 50; Buhler, *Report*, p. 18; Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, p. 44.

[2] The find spots of the coins have not been recorded. The Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar houses many coins of the Indo-Greek, Scythian and Parthian rulers, some of which have been described in the *Handbook* of R.C. Kak. It is not stated how these specimens were acquired.

[3] The coin-cabinet of Srinagar museum, Kak, *Handbook*, pp. 131-132, 155-156, contains in addition to copper specimens, gold coins struck by Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva. When Buhler mentions that he found Scythian coins in abundance at Cakradhara, he probably meant the coins of the Kuṣāṇas, *Report*, p. 18. Coins of Kuṣāṇa times are reported from Uṣkur, *Marg*, VIII, No. 2, p. 50.

In the middle of the sixth century A.D., the Epthalite Hūṇa-ruler Mihirakula appears to have conquered Kashmir.[6] Several types of his coins are known. Cunningham thinks that one of these types, apparently a copy of the Kuṣāṇa specimen with king standing on the obverse and goddess seated on the reverse and with the legend *Jayatu Mihirakula* was struck in Kashmir.[7] The theory of Mihirakula's coins being struck in Kashmir, however, lacks force. No coin of Mihirakula is recorded to have been found within the confines of Kashmir. Besides, the observation runs contrary to accepted chronological evidence. Mihirakula came to occupy the Valley sometime after the rule of the Kidāra-Kuṣāṇas. Now Pravarasena and kings of the Karkoṭa dynasty who were more distant in date from the Kidāra-Kuṣāṇas than Mihirakula adopted the letters *ki-dā-ra* on their coins apparently in keeping with past traditions. But these words are wanting on the issues of Mihirakula. If Mihirakula introduced any coin-type in the Valley, it is difficult to understand why his successors, instead of adopting that type would copy the type of his predecessors.

A large number of coins are found in Kashmir which are ascribable to a king named Toramāṇa. These coins are invariably of copper. In their type, they closely follow the coins of the Kidāra-Kuṣāṇas having king standing on the obverse and a goddess holding lotus on the reverse. The name *Śrī-Toramāṇa* in Brāhmī characters of about the fifth-sixth centuries is written on the obverse. The reverse contains the legend *Ki-dā-ra* written perpendicularly from the left.[8] There is mention of a king named Toramāṇa in Kalhaṇas *Rājataraṅgiṇī* who was the brother of a ruling monarch, Hiraṇya and father of king Pravarasena II. Suppressing the undue abundance of coins struck by some former king, whose name has not been specially stated, he is said to have put in circulation coins struck in his own name.[9] The striker of the Toramāṇa coins and Kalhaṇa's Toramāṇa are likely to be identical. The assumption gathers strength from the fact that a close affinity exists between the coins of Toramāṇa and the coins ascribable to Pravarasena, who, as one learns from Kalhaṇa, was the former's son.[10]

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[4] Cunningham, *Latere Indo-Scythians*, pl. VI.

[5] *Kuṭṭanimata Kāvya*, 606

[6] *R.T.*, I, 289-324; *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), I, pp. 167 sqq.

[7] Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 27.

According to some scholars Toramāṇa of the Kashmir coins is identical with the Hūṇa chief Toramāṇa, the father of Mihirakula.[11] But this Hūṇa king Toramāṇa is not known to have ruled over Kashmir. It is his son Mihirakula, who according to tradition, came to exercise his sway over the valley. Besides, occurrence of the word *ki-dā-ra* on the coins of Toramāṇa would indicate that even if he did not belong to the Kidāra family, he ruled over a territory which was previously ruled by the Kidāras and where coins struck by the Kidāras prevailed. The style as well as occurrence of the word *Kidāra* on the coins of Pravarasena and the Karkoṭas indicate a continuity in the numismatic tradition where the coins of Mirhirakula can not be fitted in.[12]

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[8] Plate X, fig. 1 and fig. 12.

[9] *R.T.*, III, 102-103. The unnamed one who had the possibility of associating himself with Kashmir and the ability of striking abundant coins, in all likelihood, can only be one of the illustrious Imperial Kuṣāṇas. Not many copper coins of the Kuṣāṇas can be found now in Kashmir whereas the 'Toramāṇas' are numerous.

[10] *R. T.*, I, 10. The Toramāṇa coins were in circulation for several centuries. They were found in association with coins of the Muslim Sultans in excavations at Avantipura, *Ann. Rep. A. S. I*, 1913-14, pp. 50-51. Śrīvara testifies to the circulation of Toramāṇa coins as late as the fifteenth century A.D., Śrīvara's Chronicle, iii, 213. From stylistic consideration and from the presence of more or less complete legend, the earlier form can be differentiated from the later ones. One of the earliest forms has been described by Cunningham in his *Coins of Mediaeval India*, pl. III, figs. 1 and 2 which are not very different from the gold and silver specimens of Pravarasena II. A later form is represented in V. A. Smith's *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, pl. XXVII, nos. 2 and 3, which are stylistically similar to the copper issues of the Kashmir kings starting from Avantivarman onwards.

[11] Stein, *R.T.* (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p. 83, footnote to verse 103 and Vol. II, pp. 319-320.

Pravarasena had a coinage of gold and silver.[13] On the obverse of the silver coin Lakṣmī is seated with lotus in left hand; to right the word *Śrī-Pravara* is written in Brāhmī characters. On the reverse is king standing to left, holding crescent topped sceptre in left hand. The right hand of the king is extended and there is a *triśūla* above it. To right occurs the word *Sena* and under the left arm of the king are the letters *ki-dā-ra*.[14] Pravarasena of the coins is apparently the king Pravarasena II of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. The presence of trident and crescent-topped standard probably shows, the monarch's inclination to Śaivism, a fact to which Kalhaṇa concurs.

The gold coins of Pravarasena are of a slightly different type from his silver. On the obverse is king standing to front with left hand on his hip and right hand raised, with two seated figures below, on right and left. The name *Śrī-Pravarasena* is written in Brāhmī characters of about the fifth century A.D. On the reverse is a goddess seated on lion with lotus in left hand and vase of flowers to left. The legend *Kidāra* is written perpendicularly on left.[15] The goddess seated on lion which has been described by Cunningham as Lakṣmī,[16] is probably to be identified with goddess Ambikā. The reverse type seems to have been closely copied from the coin-types of the Imperial Guptas.

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[12] For a detailed discussion on the identity of Toramāṇa of Kashmir coins see Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp. 63, 88-90; S.C. Ray, The identity of Toramāṇa of Kashmir coins, *J. N. S. I.*, XIII, pp. 152-157.

[13] No copper coins containing the name of Pravarsena has come to light. Probably the copper coins already issued by Toramāṇa were in circulation in the reign of Pravarasena, the quantity of which being considerable, the new monarch did not feel the necessity of striking a new type of copper coin. It is also not unlikely that Pravarasena actually struck copper pieces but these were similar to the prevailing Toramāṇa types.

[14] Plate X, fig. 2. It is interesting to note that the obverse type of Toramāṇa's coins has become the reverse type on the coins of Pravarasena and vice versa.

Between the time of Pravarasena and the rise of the Karkoṭas under Durlabhavardhana, are probably to be assigned some coins of rude workmanship of seated goddess and standing king type, containing the name *Śrī Narendra* on the obverse and *Kidā* on the reverse[17] and another class of coins of the same type with the name *Śrī-Gokarṇa* on the obverse and the word *Kidā* on the reverse.[18] Śrī Narendra has been generally identified with a king named Śrī Narendrāditya Khiṅkhila mentioned in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle. The word Khiṅkhila possibly reveals his Hūṇa lineage.[19] The coins which contain the name of Śrī Gokarṇa have been tentatively attributed to a king of the same name mentioned in the first book of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[20] The similarity of type and method of execution existing between the coins of Śrī Narendra and Śrī Gokarṇa on the one hand and the coins of the Karkoṭas on the other hand show that these two princes could not have been much removed in date from the kings of the Karkoṭa dynasty.

The coins of the Karkoṭas are of a rude workmanship. Though they have as their type the Kuṣāṇa model of standing king and seated goddess, the figures scarcely resemble any human shape.

Durlabhavardhana, the founder of the Karkoṭa dynasty, was also the first member of the family who struck coins in his own name. A rude figure of seated goddess, perhaps intended to be Lakṣmī, is presented on the obverse with the legend *Śrī*

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[15] Plate X, fig. 3.

[16] Cunnningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 43.

[17] Plate X, fig. 4.

[18] Plate X, fig. 5.

[19] A coin with diademed bust of king to r. on the obverse and a vase accompanied by the legend *Khiṅkhila* on the reverse was found at Punjab. V. A. Smith, because of the occurrence of the word *Khiṅkhila*, puts it among the coins of Kashmir, *I. M. C.*, I p. 267. But there is no corroborative evidence to associate these issues with the coins of Narendrāditya of Kashmir.

[20] *R.T.*, I, 346.

Durlabhadeva. The reverse shows a rude figure of king standing with the words *Jaya* and *Kidāra*.[21]

Durlabhavardhana's son was Durlabhaka who, after the assumption of the kingship, is said to have taken the title of Pratāpāditya.[22] Hence a class of coins of the same type as that of Durlabhavardhana with the legend *Śrī-Pratāpa* on the obverse and *Kidāra* on the reverse have been ascribed by scholars to him.[23] There are however reasons to believe, as we shall shortly see, that the title *Pratāpāditya* was also taken by Durlabhaka's son, the celebrated Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa and the coins with the legend *Pratāpāditya* are possibly to be ascribed to Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa and not to his father Durlabhaka.[24]

Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya was succeeded by his son Candrāpīḍa and the latter, by his brother Tārāpīḍa. The absence of any coin struck by these rulers may be due to the fact that both these rulers had a very short reign.

The next king of Kashmir was Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa. No coin containing the name of Lalitāditya or Muktāpīḍa has so far come to light. He had a prosperous reign of well nigh thirty-six years and it is difficult to account for why he did not strike any coin.

There are however strong reasons to believe that coins containing the legend *Śrī Pratāpa* actually belonged to him. In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* there is a passage which runs as follows:

Yaśovarmādrivāhinyaḥ
Kṣaṇatkurvau viśeṣanaṁ I
Nṛpatirlalitādityaḥ
Pratāpādityatāṁ yayau. II
R. T., IV, 134.

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[21] Pl. X, fig. 6.

[22] *R.T.*, IV, 8.

[23] Stein, *R.T.* (Eng. tr.), Vol. I, p. 121, foot note to Book IV, 8; V. A. Smith, *I.M.C.* I, p. 265. For the coin with the legend *Śrī-Pratāpa* see Pl. X, fig. 7.

[24] Cunningham ascribes copper *Pratāpa* coins weighing 101 grains to Durlabhaka whom he considers to be Pratāpāditya I and copper coins weighing 95 grains to Pratāpāditya II, *C. M. I*, p. 44. But such a distinction will be arbitary. Typologically all the *Pratāpa* coins are similar.

According to Cunningham's interpretation of the passage Lalitāditya, after his conquest of the dominions of Yaśovarman assumed the title of *Pratāpāditya*.[25] Stein's suggestion on the otherhand is that 'the expression *Pratāpādityatāṁ yayau* contains an allusion to the name of Lalitāditya's father but does not indicate that Lalitāditya besides his other name bore also the name of Pratāpāditya'.[26]

A close examination of the passage, however, seems to show that probably Cunningham is right in his interpretation. The expression occurring in the passage upon which the attribution of the coin solely depends is *Pratāpādityatāṁ yayau*. This phrase has got nothing to do with Lalitāditya's father. It is merely a qualification of Lalitāditya and means that Lalitāditya attained the state of being Pratāpāditya or in other words, Lalitāditya received the title of Pratāpāditya, after his magnificent victory over Yaśovarman to which the immediate preceeding verse makes a reference.

Coins with the legend *Śrī Pratāpa* have been found at different parts of India and often in large numbers. They have been noticed at Bhitaware, District Fyzabad,[27] at tahsil Mau in the Banda district,[28] at Sarnath and Rajghat, district Varanasi,[29] at Monghyr district[30] and at the ancient university site of Nālandā.[31]

Now Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya, as one learns from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* was a local ruler of Kashmir. He has hardly anything to do with the midland provinces of India. The provenance of large hoards of coins ascribable to him from different parts of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar can not be satisfactorily explained.

On the otherhand, Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa is definitely said to have carried on an expedition in the United Provinces and to have defeated Yaśovarman, the king of Kanauj.[32] Nay, he is also said to have brought the whole of the Kanauj territory from the trans-Jumma tract to the bank of the Kālikā under his dominions as if it was the courtyard of his palace.[33] It therefore seems highly probable that parts of Uttar Pradesh from where large hoards of *Pratāpa* coins came to light were included within the conquered dominions of Lalitāditya. The coins were required there possibly to make payment to the soldiers, though the probability of their use in commercial transactions can not be overruled.

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[25] Cunningham, *C.M.I.*, p. 40.

[26] *R.T.* (tr. Stein), Vol. I, p. 132, also foot notes to IV, 134.

[27] *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, p. 843.

[28] *J.A.S.B.*, Num. suppl. XLI, 1928, pp. 6-9.

[29] *J.N.S.I.*, X, pp. 30-32.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, Eastern Circle, 1919-20, p. 48.

The coins found at Tahsil Mau, Banda district and Rajghat, district Varanasi, and reasonably assigned to Lalitāditya, have the usual type of rudely executed seated goddess and standing king on the obverse. The legend *Śrī-Pratāpa* is written to right. On some specimens the additional words *Ki* to left and *Dāra*, between the legs of the goddess may be seen. The reverse has the word *Kidā* to right. On some of the coins, found at both the sites referred to above, an additional letter *Ja* intervenes between *Śrī* and *Pratāpa*. Prayagdayal suggests that the letter *Ja* probably stood for Jajja, the brother-in-law of Jayāpīḍa who usurped the throne of Kashmir[34] when Jayāpīḍa had left the valley[35] whereas according to Altekar, *Ja* stands for Jayāpīda, the grandson of Lalitāditya, who might have accompanied his grandfather in the latter's north Indian expedition and as Viceroy of Lalitāditya ruled the conquered territories and inserted the initial letter of his name in the coins struck by his grandfather.[36] None of the views, however, appear to be convincing.

Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya however struck coins in his own name. These were of the usual headless seated goddess and standing king type. The legend *Śrī Vinayāditya* is written on the obverse and the words *Jayati* and *Kidā* appear on the reverse.[37]

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[32] *R.T.*, IV, 133-135.

[33] *R.T.*, IV, 145.

[34] *R.T.*, IV, 410.

[35] Prayag Dayal, Treasure Trove Find of 16, 448 electron coins in the Banda district, *J.A.S.B.*, Num. Suppl., XLI, 1928, pp. 6-9.

[36] *J.N.S.I.*, X, p. 37.

[37] Pl. X, fig. 8.

Typologically similar to the coins of the Karkoṭas and executed in the same fashion stand coins struck by one Yaśovarman.[38] The name of Yaśovarman does not occur in the list of the kings of Kashmir supplied by Kalhaṇa. As such, attribution of these coins to any known king of Kashmir, becomes difficult. Dr. Hoernle was of the opinion that these coins were struck by king Yaśovarman of the Mandasor inscription who is said to have defeated Mihirakula, the Hūṇa king.[39] Besides other difficulties, the very fact that the name of the king appearing on the coins is definitely Yaśovarman, and not Yaśodharman, immediately goes to reject his theory. In course of excavations one of the Yaśovarman coins was found at Manikiyala *stūpa* by Cunningham.[40] He attributed the coins to Yaśovarman, the king of Kanauj and antagonist to Lalitāditya.[41] But Yaśovarman, the king of Kanauj, is not known to have struck any coin. Even if he had struck any coin, its absence in midland India which was included within his own dominions and its presence at Kashmir and northern Punjab which were far removed from his kingdom, become difficult to explain. As already noted, stylistically the coins with the name of Yaśovarman are closely linked with the coins of the Karkoṭas. It can not be explained why a king of Madhyadeśa would go to strike a coin-type which is peculiar to the valley of Kashmir only.

As pointed out elsewhere by this author[42] the manuscript copy of a drama named *Āgamaḍambara* by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, a Kashmirian writer, who might have lived at the end of the ninth century A.D. mentions that Śaṁkaravarman, king of Kashmir had another name, Yaśovarman. Under the circumstances, it would be tempting to attribute the Yaśovarman coins to Śaṁkaravarman. The find spots of the coins containing the name of Yaśovarman have not been fully recorded. But one of these was deposited in the Manikiyala *stūpa*, while others

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[38] Pl. X, fig. 9.

[39] *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, pp. 549-553; 1909, pp. 105-108.

[40] Cunngham, *A.S.I. Rep.*, II, p. 159.

[41] Cunningham, *Ibid*, pp. 159-160.

[42] *J.A.S.*, Letters, Vol. XVIII, 1951, pp. 1-2.

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were found chiefly in the Punjab.[43] In other words, the Yaśovarman coins were recovered, not so much from Kashmir proper, but principally from the bordering territories. This also fits well with the career of Śaṁkaravarman who spent most of his days in expeditions in the adjoining regions of his country,[44] in course of which, he might have circulated some of his monetary issues.

Another coin, similar in style and type to the coins of the Karkoṭas has the legend *Śrī Vigraha* on the right field and *Tuṅga* on the left field.[45] Probably it has been referred to in the Siyadoni stone inscription as Vigrahatuṅgīya dramma which were current in the Gwalior region in V.S. 969.[46] The identity of the striker of these coins can not be established. Since these coins were found in excavations at Kashmir in a pot which also contained coins of Durlabhavardhana and Jayāpīḍa and are also stylistically similar to them it will be reasonable to infer that the striker was not much removed in date from the rulers of the Karkoṭa dynasty.[47]

The Karkoṭas and other rulers, contemporary or nearly contemporary to them, referred to above, who struck typologically similar coins with a rude figure of king standing and seated goddess, did not have a gold coinage, though many of their coins have been described as such in the standard catalogues. They were of two types from the point of view of metal used. Examined specimens show that one class had gold contents of about ten to twelve per cent, silver content of about thirteen to fifteen per cent and copper for the remaining portion with a tinge of nickel. These have been christened as electrum coins.[48]

[43] *I.M.C.*, I, p. 266.

[44] *R.T.*, V, 136-155, 216-218.

[45] Pl. X, fig. 10. Neither Cunningham nor Smith could read the legend fully and Stein tried to decipher the words as *Viśramśadeva*, *R. T.* (Eng-tr.) Vol. II, p. 138. The legend has been correctly read by Dayaram Sahni, *Ann. Rep.*, *A.S.I.*, 1915-16, p. 60.

[46] *Epigraphia Indica,* I, pp. 162-179.

[47] For a full implication of the reference of Vigrahatuṅgīya dramma in the Siyadoni Stone inscription, see *J.N.S.I.*, XIV, pp. 125-127.

[48] *J.A.S.B.*, *Num. Suppl.* 1928, p. 7; *J.N.S.I.*, X, p. 33. They were primarily intended for being used as gold coins with all the disadvantages that an intrinsically base gold coin would have suffered.

The other class was struck, exclusively of copper. According to Cunningham, the copper coins of the Karkoṭas were simple forgeries that have been originally guilt for being passed as genuine coins.[49] Stein also thinks that no genuine copper coin exists which bears the name of any Karkoṭa monarch; the Karkoṭas struck copper coins containing the name of Toramāṇa.[50] But there is clear indication in the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇi* that at least the Karkoṭa king Jayāpīḍa struck coins of copper in his own name. While speaking of the striking of coins by this monarch, Kalhaṇa declares that from a mountain with a copper mine, he obtained sufficient copper to coin hundred crores less one *dīnnāra* which *bore his name*.[51] Excavations have yielded from several sites of Uttar Pradesh not only electrum coins of the usual Karkoṭa type, but also a large number of similar copper coins.[52] The genuineness of these coins can not be doubted. The abundance of the Toramāṇa copper coins of Kashmir, no doubt, may be due to the fact that these coins were struck not only by Toramāṇa, but also by his immediate successors. But there is no definite proof that the Toramāṇa coins were struck by the Karkoṭas.

The copper coinage of Kashmir from Śaṁkarvarman onwards is fixed and stereotyped and its importance is very little.[53] There is however one class of coins in the list, issued in the joint names of queen Diddā and king Kṣemagupta which has interest of its own. The figure of the seated goddess appears on the obverse of this variety of coin; the letter *Di* which is the first syllable of the queen's name and the letters *Kṣema* which constitute the first part of the king's name occupy the left and right field respectively. The reverse contains the figure of standing king in regal attire; the word *gupta,* the latter part of the king's name is written below, to right. Kalhaṇa states that king Kṣemagupta was so greatly enamoured by his wife Diddā that he became known by the appellation Diddākṣema.[54] The numismatic specimens clearly reveal the great influence exerted by the grand daughter of the Śāhis upon her husband. Whatever the reason might have been which led Kṣemagupta to inscribe his queen's name on his monetary issues the unusual procedure adopted is in itself sufficient to account for the use of the nick name.

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[49] Cunningham, *C.M.I.*, p. 29.

[50] Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 321.

[51] *R.T.*, IV, 617.

[52] *J.A.S.B.*, *Num. Suppl.* 1928, pp. 6-9; *J.N.S.I.*, X, p. 30.

[53] The kings who struck copper coins from Śaṁkaravarman onwards, leaving aside the strikers of controversial types, are as follows. 1. Śaṁkaravarman 2. Gopālavarman 3. Sugandhā 4. Pārtha 5. Nirjitavarman 6. Cakravarman 7. Unmattāvanti 8. Yaśaskara 9. Parvagupta 10. Kṣemagupta 11. Abbimanyugupta 12. Nandigupta 13. Tribhuvanagupta 14. Bhīmagupta 15. Diddā, 16. Saṁgrāmadeva 17. Ananta 18. Kalaśa 19. Harṣa 20. Uccala 21. Sussala 22. Salhaṇa 23. Gulhaṇa 24. Jayasiṁha 25. Jayadeva 26. Paramānuka 27. Rājadeva. For published coins of kings see Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaevāl India*, pp. 45-46; V.A. Smith, *I.M.C.*, I pp. 269-273.

King Harṣa of Kashmir, in addition to the usual copper type, issued coins of gold and silver. His gold coins were of two classes. The obverse of the class one depicts a horseman with lance to right. The legend goes as *Harṣadeva.* A goddess is seated on the reverse.[55] The second class has on the obverse the legend *Śrī Harṣadeva* and on the reverse an elephant to right.[56] As pointed out by Kalhaṇa, the elephant type appears to have been imitated from the contemporary coins of Karṇāta.[57] The silver coins of Harṣa are of the same type as his gold coins of the second class are, with the name of Harṣa on the observe and elephant on the reverse.[58]

While the copper coins of Harṣa are found in abundance, his gold and silver coins are rare. Probably these were struck by him as prestige issues and were not meant for normal circulation.

Inspite of the circulation of minted metallic coins, it seems unlikely that they reached all corners of the country and were universally used in day to day transactions, as is done in modern economic life. There were other media of exchange which co-existed with minted coins. One of these was cowrie shell. The cowrie shell, in fact, had been in use in almost all parts of

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[54] *R. T., VI,* 178. For the coin-type see Pl. X, fig. 11.

[55] Plate X, fig. 13.

[56] Plate X, fig. 14.

[57] *R. T.,* VII, 926.

[58] Plate X, fig. 15.

India from a remote period. When metallic coins were not invented, it was presumably the principal medium of exchange in daily transactions. But sometime it was found to be current side by side with gold, silver and copper coins. Fa-hien noticed cowries being used in the markets of Madhyadeśa in the Gupta period. In Bengal, revenue was collected in the form of cowrie shells even as late as A.D. 1750. The same thing happened in Kashmir too. If Kṣemendra is to be believed, in the eleventh century A.D., cowries were used in daily transactions.[59] That the lowest denomination of the prevailing currency of the sametime was *varāṭaka* (cowrie-shell) is evident from Kalhaṇa[60] The use of cowrie prevailed in Jonarāja's time and he contrasts *kaḍi* with crore.[61]

Another medium of exchange in early Kashmir was paddy or *dhānya.* In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* there are indications that in the ninth century A.D., the land revenue of Kashmir was collected in the form of *dhānya.*[62] This however does not prove conclusively that *dhānya* was medium of exchange. But in the *Lokaprakāśa kharis of dhānya* in fixed quantities are stated to be payments of rents, fines, wages etc. and are said to have been equivalent to *dīnāras.*[63] The evidence of Kalhaṇa coupled with the testimony of *Lokaprakāśa* leaves little doubt that *dhānya* was a medium of exchange in some periods of Kashmirian history.

Though definite evidence is lacking still it is highly probable that *dhānya* and cowrie-shells were used as media of exchange from a remote period. As everywhere in the world, so also in Kashmir, barter must have been the earliest stage of commercial transactions. But there were many disadvantages of the system and that might have led to the innovation of *dhānya* to be used as medium of exchange. It had at least two distinct advantages. Firstly, it was an essential commodity and therefore acceptable to all. Secondly, it had the quality of being divisible into minutest portions. In a slightly later stage of economic life, cowries possibly came in use.

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[59] *Kalāvilāsa,* II, 5, 7; *Samayamātṛkā,* VIII, 80.

[60] *R. T.,* VII, 112.

[61] *Jonarāja, Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī,* 588.

[62] *R. T.,* V. 171.

[63] Weber, *Indische Studien,* XVIII, pp. 346, 378.

It is interesting to note how the general economic condition of the valley is reflected on the extant coins. Under the rule of the Kuṣāṇas she shared the prosperity of the great empire, when bimetallic currency prevailed. The overland trade routes, which were opened as a result of the Kuṣāṇa conquest and to which Kashmir was a chief emporium, must have considerably enriched the Valley and raised her economic standard to a high level. It was during this flourishing period that the Roman golds, being ultimately transformed into minted Kuṣāṇa coins, became current in Kashmir. The gold coins appear to have been particularly adopted for carrying on trade with foreign countries since foreign merchants usually would not accept anything but gold. The copper coin was presumably the medium of exchange in local transactions.

The Kidāra Kuṣāṇas who followed next adopted the main trends of the Imperial Kuṣāṇa coinage, but their coins were inferior to their mighty predecessors, both in type and metal. The volume of coins circulated by the Kidāra Kuṣāṇas also seems to be considerably less. The reason for this deterioration is not far to seek. The high pitch of trade and commerce of the Kuṣāṇa period lowered down shortly after the disintegration of their empire. The disturbing raids of the Hūṇas over peaceful trade routes of Central Asia had started about the end of the fourth century A.D. The Hūṇa inroads and the rise of the Sassanian dynasty of Persia which brought some parts of north-west India under their sway, must have affected the normal activities of trade and commerce with Central Asian territories and this probably reacted on the base gold coins of the Kidāra Kuṣāṇas.

The rise of the Hūṇas, their conquest of parts of Central Asia, invasion of India and lastly occupation of Kashmir further worsened the economic condition of the Valley. The overland trade-routes were disturbed and ultimately closed down. A land locked territory, detached from the rest of the world, Kashmir under the Hūṇas was an impoverished country. Probably gold and base gold coins went out of circulation during this period.

The next coinage of Kashmir, as already noted above, was of copper, struck by Toramāṇa. These were in circulation for a very long period, extending upto the Muslim rule. They appear to have been struck in large numbers, probably upto the beginning of the Karkoṭa period and met the economic requirements of the period, confined to internal transactions in trade. Pravarasena, as noted already, struck coins of gold and silver. But his monetary issues are extremely rare. It seems that the economic condition of the country was not favourable to a gold or silver currency.

As stated above, the Karkoṭas who came to rule in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. struck coins not only of copper but of a mixed metal which contained gold, silver and copper. Apparently, these passed for gold coins, as distinct from the other type of monetary issues, the copper.

It appears that by the beginning of the seventh century A.D. when the Hūṇa inroads had subsided, the old trade routes of Central Asia were partially re-established and the commercial links of Kashmir, with her neighbours were restored. Due to the rise of the Muslim power with whom she had a strained relation, her trade with western countries must have hampered. But now she appears to have found a market at China and at Tibet and also in some provinces of India. It was to meet new demands of monetary transactions in the revised fields of trade and commerce that the Karkoṭas required a sort of gold coinage. Even in their deteriorated form and metal content, the electrum coins of the Karkoṭas, in all probability, must have been acceptable to traders, in the then economic set up.

The revised structure of economy was shortlived. The conquering expeditions of Lalitāditya and his grandson Jayāpīḍa were probably responsible for the creation of an Indian market for the goods of Kashmir. But the later weak Karkoṭas, who stepped into their shoes, were unable to maintain the traditions of their predecessors. Indian markets were presumably closed down with the rise of other north-Indian powers. Trade with immediate neighbours of the west and north was brought to an end when these countries came under the standards of Islam. A change of government in China shut the trade routes of that direction.

If the identity of Śaṁkaravarman with Yaśovarman be accepted, then he and afterwards Harṣa struck gold coins. But the attempt of linking the monetary system of Kashmir with a gold currency could not succeed. There were indeed gold reserves in the country. In Kalhaṇa's Chronicle one finds king Yaśaskara retiring with a treasure of two thousand pieces of gold.[64] During the reign of Ananta, acquisition of gold was the popular form of investment.[65] Sussala is recorded to have transmitted gold ingots to his treasury in the Lohara castle in order to hoard there the wealth that he collected by oppressive fiscal system.[66] In Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanimata Kāvya* and Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* there are many instances of the use of gold ornaments. But from the ninth century onwards whatever gold the Kashmirians possessed, they seem to have kept either in the form of bullion or in ornaments. There is no evidence that gold coins, any longer, were in actual circulation.

The reason for the withdrawal of gold coins is not far to seek. It may be presumed that gold coins were particularly needed for payment to foreign merchants who would not accept coins of any other metal.[67] Now when trade with foreign countries came to a stop, gold coins were no longer required. Whatever little trade was going on could be paid back by gold bullions[68] and as far as Indian territories were concerned, perhaps, with cowrie-shells as well. It is therefore nothing strange, that from the beginning of the tenth century A.D. onwards Kashmir had a coinage of copper only. Moreover, inspite of the reference in the pages of Kalhaṇa to copper mines from which copper was regularly extracted and minted into coins,[69] it is not known for certain whether there was any gold mine in the Valley. Probably there was none. All gold appears to have poured from outside by the way of trade and commerce. When trade and commerce with foreign countries ceased, the entry of gold from outside territories also stopped. This also may account for the absence of gold coins.

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[64] *R. T.*, VI, 102-103.

[65] *R. T.*, VII, 211-212.

[66] *R. T.*, VIII, 639.

[67] The coins of the Karkoṭas, as mentioned already were not gold; they were electrum coins. But they were circulated apparently with the intention of using them as gold coins. They might have been accepted by foreign merchants at a discocunt ratio, according to the proportion of copper and silver mixed to them.

[68] In the early days of the Muslim rule in Kashmir, bullion appears as a medium of exchange, Jonarāja, *op. cit.*, Bombay ed. 1077 sq. It is likely that bullion took the place of minted coins in an earlier period too, specially in commercial transactions with foreign countries.

[69] *R. T.*, IV, 617.

Another cause for the withdrawal of gold coins from the markets of Kashmir from the tenth century onwards must be sought in the operation of the general economic law which declares that when coins of more than one metal are in circulation, the coins of the less valuable metal invariably drive away the coins of the more valuable metal from the market. In other words, bad money always drives away the good. Now, during the Karkoṭa period and even sometimes after that, copper coins were in circulation in Kashmir side by side with mixed metal coins, which had in them an appreciable quantity of gold. The disturbed economic state of the country in the last days of the Karkoṭa regime, probably witnessed the proper linking of the coins of two different metals coming to an end, as a result of which mixed metal coins came to be appreciated in preference to the copper coins. Under such condition, it would have been the natural tendency of the people to get hold of the coin of the better metal and discard the inferior other which resulted in withdrawal of all mixed metal coins from the market of Kashmir.

CHAPTER X

LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

FOOD AND DRINK, dress and ornaments, games and pastimes, luxury and amusements and many other objects of our day-today life, are, in a way, expressions of our mental culture, though we may not be conscious of the fact. The ideas and ideals, thoughts and conceptions, meditations and reflections of any people of a particular territory and period are not confined only within their religions and fine arts, literature and sciences, but are expressed in every sphere of life, and in all its activities. Hence the cultural survey of a nation can not be complete on a consideration of its religion, literature and art alone; the practical side of the daily life, which is no less an expression of the nation's intellectual refinedness, must also be taken into consideration.

We have not enough materials in our possession, with the help of which a detailed and connected account of the life of the people in early Kashmir may be sketched. But many isolated events, bearing on the everyday life, are scattered in the isolated literature of the valley. A few informations can be gleaned from the archaeological remains as well. A somewhat connected account regarding the day to-day life of early Kashmir may be formed by weaving these scattered threads into a single texture.

Food and drink

Rice was the staple food of Kashmir. *Dhānya* (rice-crop) and a particular class of it called *śāli* have often been mentioned in the literary works.[1] The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* points out that the scarcity of rice invariably resulted in disastrous famine. This clearly proves that rice was the principal food of the people. Of various preparations made from rice, boiled-rice, rice mixed with sugar and sugar-cane, cakes of rice and meal of dried rice have often been referred to in the *Nīlamatapurāṇa.*

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[1] *Nīlamata*, 748-754; *Deśopadeśa*, VIII; *R. T.*, I, 246, II, 18, V, 116-117, VII, 140.

Besides rice, barley (*java*) seems to have formed another important item of food. A particular day of the year was observed as a festival, when the barley became ripe in the field.[2] *Apūpa* and *piṣṭaka* (bread and cake) were made from barley.[3]

Pulses too were in use. Dāmodaragupta in his *Kuṭṭanimata Kāvya* speaks of three kinds of pulses, *kulattha, caṇa* and *maṣura.* Kṣemendra mentions fourth variety, called *mudga.*[5] Rice and pulses, cooked jointly was known as *khiccari.* This was taken, especially on religious occasions.[6] Another kind of food prepared from pulses was the *parpaṭa* or *pāpara.*[7]

The nature of vegetable food-stuffs and fruits can be ascertained to some extent from literary sources. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* mentions a kind of wild-growing herb of bitter taste called *utpalaśāka* which was generally taken by the common people.[8] The herb, now known as *upathak,* grows abundantly on the mountain slopes of Kashmir and forms one of the commonest vegetables of the Kashmir cuisine. Another edible vegetable was *kacchaguccha,* a form of grass.[9] It is now known as *kacdān* and grows in abundance in the meadows of the Valley. A third one *śandā*[10] is modern *hand,* which grows all over the valley and is appreciated for its medical properties. By nature, Kashmir is abundantly rich in fruit. Hiuen Tsang's account seems to show that the pear, the wild plum, the peach, the apricot and the grape were the principal fruit products of the valley in the seventh century A.D.[11] The grape was particularly considered as the fruit par excellence.[12] Onion was regarded as a nutritious vegetable food.[13] Garlic, though popular was a taboo to certain orthodox sections.[14]

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[2] *Nīlamata,* 696-97.

[3] *Nīlamata,* verses 499-505; R. T., IV, 228.

[4] *Kuṭṭanimata Kāvya,* 228.

[5] *Narmamālā,* I, 124.

[6] *Nīlamata,* 484-491.

[7] *Nīlamata,* 526-529.

[8] *R. T.,* V. 48-49.

[9] *R. T.,* I, 211.

[10] *R. T.,* VIII, 143.

[11] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), I, p. 88.

[12] *Vikramāṅkadevacarita,* XVIII, 72; *R. T.,* I, 42.

Milk undoubtedly comprised one of the principal diets. Milk of cows and probably also of buffaloes was consumed.[15] Various preparations of milk such as ghee (*ghṛta*), butter (*sarpi*), condensed milk (*kṣīra*) and curd (*dadhi*) were known.[16] Honey (*mākṣika*) and sugar (*śarkarā*) were used to sweeten food.[17] The juice of the sugar-cane is compared with nectar by Kalhaṇa[18] and the white sugar, produced from it, was a delicacy.[19]

Salt was a precious article and if Kṣemendra is to be believed, it was consumed by the rich alone.[20] Among the spices which were used with food, mention may be made of black-pepper, ginger (*maricādraka*) and assafoetida (*hiṅga*).[21]

Meat was one of the most important articles of diet. The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* prescribes it on some of the festival days. The fowl and the ram (*kukkūṭa* and *meṣa*) and perhaps also the goat served the dishes.[22] Various edible birds too were massacred.[23] In the eleventh century A.D. eating of domesticated pigs (*grāmya-śūkara*) might have been a fashion among a section of the people.[24] The eating of the meat of the pigeon as well as that of the cow though not unknown, was normally looked with disapproval.[25] Marco Polo (thirteenth century A.D.) informs that the food of the people of the Valley was flesh, with rice and other grains.[26] Meat was generally fried and sometimes highly spiced.[27] Fish was also taken[28] and fish-juice (*matsyāyūsa* or *matsyāsūpa*) was considered to be a particularly strength-giving tonic food.[29] *Pāthīna*, a kind of shad fish, was much esteemed as food.[30]

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[13] *Deśopadeśa*, III, 32; *R. T.*, VIII, 143.

[14] *R. T.*, I, 342.

[15] *Nīlamata*, 408-440; *R. T.*, VII, 772, 1414, VIII, 76.

[16] *Nīlamata*, 461-468, 471-477 etc.; *Narmamālā*, I, 127, II, 80; *Deśopadeśa*, III, 32; *R. T.*, VIII, 137, 140.

[17] *Narmamālā*, I, 123, II, 80.

[18] *R. T.*, II, 60.

[19] *R. T.*, VII, 1574.

[20] *Narmamālā*, I, 126-128.

[21] *Narmamālā*, I, 123; *R. T.*, VII, 1221.

[22] *Narmamālā*, I, 124.

[23] *R. T.*, V, 119.

[24] *R. T.*, VII, 1149.

[25] *R. T.*, II, 52, VII, 1232 and Stein's footnotes, *R. T.*, (Eng. tr.) Vol. I, p. 60.

Drinking of wine seems to have been quite popular. In Kalhaṇa's Chronicle a large number of persons are met with who are addicted to drinking. The drinking of wine, far from being forbidden, has been specially recommended on ceremonial occasions in the Kashmirian *Purāṇa*. [31]Juices from grape and sugar-cane, both of which grew in the valley, were distilled into spirituous liquors. The wine, cooled and perfumed with flowers, was appreciated as a delicious drink.[32] Of drinks other than alcholic Kalhana mentions a kind of cold sweet drink (*tuhina śarkaraṁ*) which was taken with great delight in hot summer days.[33]

The average Kashmirian was very fond of betel-leaves (*parṇa* or *tāmbula*). Dāmodargupta, Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa often refer to chewing of betel-leaves and betel-nuts, sometimes with well-mixed lime.[34] The rich people used to engage betel-bearers who could constantly supply them prepared betel-leaves on asking.[35] Kalhaṇa also refers to the habit of chewing of *potāsa*, a sort of camphor.[36]

Dress and ornaments

As regards the dress and ornaments of early inhabitants of Kashmir, we have literary as well as archaeological evidence.

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[26] Yule, *Marco Polo*, I, p. 166; *The Travels of Marco Polo* (Everyman's Library), p. 87.

[27] *R. T.*, VIII, 1866-67; *Deśopadeśa*, VII.

[28] *Nīlamata*, 508-514; *R. T.*, V, 119.

[29] *Samayamātṛkā*, II, 25, 71; *R. T.*, VII, 522.

[30] *R. T.*, V. 65.

[31] *Nīlamata*, 450-453.

[32] *R. T.*, VIII, 1866-67.

[33] *R. T.*, III, 362, VIII, 1863.

[34] *Kuṭṭanimata Kāvya*, 739-742: *Samayamātṛkā*, VII; *R. T.*, IV; 427, VII, 544, 787, 945, 1067, VIII, 1735-37, 1947.

[35] *R.*, *T.*, VIII, 1304.

[36] *R. T.*, VII, 1124.

The costume of the male population consisted of a lower garment (*adhararāṁśuka*), an upper garment (*aṅgarakṣaka*),[37] and turban *śiraḥśāṭa*).[38] In the battle-field, leather strap was used for guarding loins.[39] Hiuen Tsang visited Kashmir during the years 632-635. He writes that the climate of Kashmir was cold and stern and so 'the people wear leather doublets and clothes of white linen'.[40] The low temperature of the valley, particularly at the time of winter, must have compelled the people to employ woollen garments to cover their body. In one of the passages of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Kalhaṇa refers to the use of woollen blankets (*kuthā*)[41] and in another of warm cloaks (*prāvāra*).[42] But the Chronicler points out that fine wooollen blankets (forerunner of later Kashmir shawls ?) were allotted for the rich urban people only.[43] The plebeians of modest means probably had to satisfy their wants with cheaper woollen goods such as the skins of black antelopes (*kṛṣṇājina*) and coarse wollen cloaks (*sthūlakambala*) which again were sometimes distributed to them by charitable persons.[44]

It was a fashion to keep rather long hairs to which combs were attached.[45] Sometimes, tassels of varied colours were joined with the hairs.[46] Kings and nobles also braided their hair in various styles.[47] While the commoner used ordinary *śiraḥśāṭa* to cover their head, the aristocrats decorated themselves in various manners. While describing an affluent person, Dāmodaragupta says that three-fourth of his head was covered with a piece of cloth.[48] Kalhaṇa speaks of a musical soiree in the royal court which looked resplendant by the white head-dress of the princes and nobles.[49] The diadem of king Harṣa, according to him was fixed to a bread turban.[50]

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[37] *R. T.*, IV, 435.

[38] *Narmamālā*, I, 72.

[39] *R. T.*, VIII, 1735.

[40] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), I, p. 148.

[41] *R. T.*, IV, 349.

[42] *R. T.*, VIII, 1310.

[43] *R. T.*, IV, 349-352.

[44] *R. T.*, V. 461, VII, 857, 955, VIII, 2405.

[45] *Kuṭṭanimata Kāvya*, 62.

[46] *Ibid*, 65.

[47] *R. T.*, VII, 922-924.

[48] *Kuṭṭanimata Kāvya*, 739.

The men used different kinds of ornaments which were not very unlike to those of women. In his *Kuṭṭanimata* Dāmodaragupta describes the son of an officer in king's service who wears rings in his fingers, fine gold necklaces and two types of ear-rings, one of which is called *dalabīṭaka* and the other *sīsapatraka*.[51] Another wealthy man is said to wear necklace, armlet and wristlet made of golden and coral beads.[52] Kṣemendra observes a merchant's son putting on great gold rings heavy with pearls hanging from ears and a golden amulet shining in the midst of the jewellery about his neck. He has on his feet carefully fitted silver anklets with large olives carved from lapis-lazuli.[53] Dāmodaragupta records the dress of an attendant who has got in his neck coarse and cheap *kācavartakamālā* and conchshell in his hands.[54] According to Kalhaṇa's evidence too, the male population of Kashmir used ornaments. These consisted chiefly of finger-rings, ear-rings, necklaces and bracelets.[55] Men wore shoes which were made of leather.[56] Sometimes the shoes had steel-made soles and floral decorations outside.[57] Kṣemendra refers to a particular kind of footwear called peacock-shoe (*mayuropānat*) which was a fashion of his day.[58] The use of wooden sandals was also in vogue.[59] A cane-stick in the hand and a dagger or sword at the waist were other accessories.[60] A dagger at the waist can be seen in the

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[49] *R. T.*, V. 356.

[50] *R.T.*, VII, 876. The view of Kalhaṇa (*R. T.*, VII, 922) that until the time of Harṣa the people of Kashmir, with the exception of the king, had worn their hair loose, had carried no head-dress and no ear-ornaments is not correct.

[51] *Kuṭṭanimata Kāvya*, 63-65.

[52] *Ibid*, 739-742.

[53] *Samayamātṛkā*, VII.

[54] *Kuṭṭanimata Kāvya*, 67.

[55] *R.T.*, III, 241, IV VII, 349-352, VI, 749, 812, 876-878, 922, VIII, 329, 1744.

[56] *R.T.*, VIII, 137.

[57] *Kuṭṭanimata Kāvya*, 64.

[58] *Desopadeśa*, VI.

[59] *Narmamālā*, I, 110.

[60] *Kuṭṭanimata Kāvya*, 742.

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Viṣṇu images of the Utpala period. No doubt it records the fashion of the period. For beautifying them the fashionable persons used to apply *Kuṁkuma* on the hair, *aṅgarāga* on body, white mustard on forehead[61] and saffron pomade on beard.[62]

The dress of a woman was composed mainly of sāri and jackets.[63] During the reign of Harṣa, fashionable ladies dressed themselves in jackets which covered but half the length of their arms and wore long lower garments, the tail end of which touched the floor.[64] Sometimes a veil was used to cover the face.[65]

The women of early Kashmir were not wanting in their eternal fondness for ornaments. Among the various kinds of jewelleries worn by the ladies of his native land, Kalhaṇa mentions anklets *(nūpura)*, necklaces *(hāra)*, wristlets *(kaṅkaṇa)*, armlets *(keyūra)*, bracelets *(pārihārya)* and earrings *(kuṇḍala)*.[66] Kṣemendra speaks of collars made of pearls[67] and Damodaragupta of pearl-necklaces *(muktāhāra)*.[68] A special type of armlet called *valayakalāpī* and ear-ring called *kaṇakanāḍi* have been referred to in *Kuṭṭanimata Kāvya*.[69] *Valayakalāpī* was a sort of armlet having the face of a peacock and moonshaped end.[70] *Kanakanāḍi* seems to be palmshaped small ear-drop. In the eleventh century, king Harṣa introduced several new type of jewelleries. These were golden ketaka-leafed tiaras *(svarṇaketakapatrāṇka)* pendants on forehead *(tilaka)* and golden strings at the end of locks *(keśāntavaddha hemopavitakā)*.[71]

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[61] *Ibid.*, 739-740.

[62] *R.T.*, VI, 120.

[63] *R.T.*, I, 294.

[64] *R.T.*, VII, 930.

[65] *Deśopadeśa*, III.

[66] *R. T.*, I, 247, V, 380, VIII, 2835.

[67] *Samayamātṛkā*, VII. Of course only the rich could afford to pay for a collar of pearls. For ladies of modest means, there was the substitute, the collar of corals; *Samayamātṛkā*, II.

[68] *Kuṭṭanimata Kāvya*, 606.

[69] *Ibid*, 342, 358.

[70] Cf. Bhārata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, XXI, 28-29.

[71] *R.T.*, VII, 928-931.

The ladies used camphor, sandal and saffron to toilet and perfume the body,[72] scented cheeks with leaves soaked in musk,[73] reddened the feet and lips with lac[74] and applied collyrium in the eyes.[75] The married women decorated their foreheads with painted marks.[76] Sometimes these beauty-marks were made with camphor.[77] The ways of dressing the hair were various. Coiffures were decorated with flowers. Sometimes flowers were also bound with locks.[78]

Some idea regarding the costumes and ornaments of early Kashmir of a period prior to the one known from literary sources may be had from a study of the sculptures and terracottas. One of the brick tiles of Harwan depicts a lady carrying a flower vase. She wears transparent robe, a kind of close fitting turban and large ear-ring.[79] Another tile shows female-dancer wearing loose robes and trousers while a third one gives the picture of a female musician who also dresses herself in trousers.[80] Some of the male figures of Harwan are dressed in lose fitting trousers and Turkoman caps. The costumes of Harwan undoubtedly show in them the influence of Central Asian dress. The exact period when the people used to dress themselves in Central Asian fashions can not be ascertained. It might have taken place in the early centuries of the Christian era. But the Central Asian tradition seems to have made its influence felt on the costumes of Kashmir and its adjoining regions for a long time and when Hiuen Tsang visited India in the middle of the seventh century A.D., he observed, 'in north India, where the air is cold they (people) wear short and close-fitting garments, like the Hu people'.[81]

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[72] *Nīlamata*, 550; *Kuṭṭanimata Kāvya*, 101.

[73] *Samayamātṛkā*, VII.

[74] *Kuṭṭanimata Kāvya*, 7, 113; *R.T.*, III, 415.

[75] *R.T.*, I, 207-209, VII, 928-931.

[76] *R.T.*, IV, 130.

[77] *Samayamātṛkā*, VII.

[78] *R.T.*, V, 357, VII, 928-931, 945

[79] R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, pl. XXIV, fig. 5.

[80] *Ibid.*, pl. I, fig. a.

[81] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), I, p. 76.

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One of the terracotta tiles of Harwan represents an armed horseman equipped fully with bow and arrow. The flying scarfs attached to his military uniforms may be identical with what Kalhaṇa says *vīrapaṭṭa* or lapels of the military uniform.[82]

Sculptural representations sometime confirm the conclusion that we derive from a study of the literary sources regarding the dress and ornaments of ancient Kashmir. Among the sculptural fragments recovered from Uṣkur, there is an upper arm encircled by a beaded armlet which seems to have been connected by a similar band with necklace. Another fore-arm has a bangle round the wrist. The wristlets that were in fashion in those days are illustrated by two other partly broken hands. A fragmentary left hand has a ring on the little finger which is deserving of notice.[83] One of the sculptural figures of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara from Pāndreṭhan, represents him heavily ornamented.[84] Among the jewelleries worn by him one may easily note a three-peaked diadem, an elaborately jewelled necklace, a heavy jewelled wristlet, and a jewelled girdle fastening the dhoti. The ornaments must have been taken from real life. One of the Viṣṇu images of Avantipura is crowned with elaborately jewelled three-peaked tiara. It is probable that similar crescented crowns were worn by the kings of the Valley. 'Ananta's diadem', says Kalhaṇa, 'was adorned with five resplendant crescents'.[85]

Games and amusements

Dice and chess were the favourite indoor games of the people. Dice-playing has been referred to in several passages of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[86] Alberuni in his account on India has left a detailed description of the mode of chess playing which was very popular in the northern provinces of India in the eleventh century A.D.[87] Gambling, though in vogue, was regarded as a reprehensible pastime.[88] The game, however, has been prescribed in the *Nīlamatapurāṇa,* to be played particularly on the darker fifteenth of the *Karttika.*[89]

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[82] *R.T.*, V. 333, VIII, 1774, 2018.

[83] For the illustrations of the fragmentary sculptures from Uṣkur, see R. C. Kak, *Handbook of the Archaeological and Numismatic Sections of Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.*

[84] R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, pl. XLV.

[85] *R.T.*, VII, 195.

[86] *R.T.*, VI, 153, VII, 1003, VIII, 1740 etc.

[87] *India* (tr. Sachau), I, pp. 183-184.

Kandukakrīḍā had been one of the most favourite games of ancient India. Its prevalence in early Kashmir is testified to by Dāmodaragupta's evidence.[90] Among other outdoor games, hunting was a popular one. A terracotta tile from Harwan depicts a hunter on horseback chasing a deer. There can be no doubt that the picture was taken from real life. Kalhaṇa gives vivid description of kings engaged in hunting accompanied by dogs, bands of Ḍombas and jungle-folk.[91] Jackal hunting was particularly popular.[92]

Dancing and singing, as well as theatrical performances, were widely appreciated. A tile from Harwan represents a female musician playing on a drum. Another depicts a dancer in actual dancing posture.[93] Dāmodaragupta refers to the playing of *vīṇā* as an artistic pastime.[94] The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* lays down that *gīta, nṛtyt* and *vādya* were to take place in some of the religious festivities. Bilhaṇa extols the women of his native land for their cleverness in acting.[95] If Kalhaṇa is to be believed, many of the kings of the valley were lovers of dancing and music and musical plays regularly took place in the illuminated assembly-halls of the royal palace.[96] One of the monarchs, Harṣa, not only enjoyed dances and songs, but also taught in person the dancing girls, how to act.[97] Dāmodaragupta mentions about the performance of the play of *Ratnāvalī* at his time.[98] The reference is, evidently to the work of Śrī Harṣa. Literary evidence testifies to the existence of the institution of *devadāsī* in early Kashmir.

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[88] *R.T.,* VIII, 2360.

[89] *Nīlamatapurāṇa,* 401-407.

[90] *Kuṭṭanimata Kāvya,* 361.

[91] *R.T.,* VI, 182.

[92] *R.T.,* VI, 181, 183, VII, 171, VIII, 699.

[93] R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir,* pl. XXVII, figs. 11 and 12.

[94] *Kuṭṭanimata Kāvya,* 357.

[95] *Vikramāṅkadevacarita,* XVIII, 28, 29.

[96] *R.T.,* V. 356-388, VII, 944-49, VIII, 1294.

[97] *R.T.,* VII, 1140-41.

[98] *Kuṭṭanimata Kāvya,* 881 ff.

Dancing and music must have been cultivated by them as well as by ordinary harlots.

Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* was held in high honour and according to an authority was one of the approved texts of studies.[99] Kalhaṇa also was aware of the precepts of Bharata on dancing and singing.[100] It is highly probable that many of the dancing performances of early Kashmir were strictly in adherence to the school of Bharata.

Another interesting item of amusement was puppet-play. A writer of the ninth century refers to wooden-dolls (*dārumayīva pratimā*) which were made to dance with the help of a mechanical thread (*yantrasūtra.*) [101]

According to Dāmodaragupta, there were luxurious theatre halls in his native valley, fitted with leather-cushioned couches.[102] But these luxury-houses were probably meant for the rich alone. A passage of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* tends to show that common people had to witness theatrical performances under an open sky, when caught by a downpour, they had to disperse in all directions.[103]

Conveyances

The conveyances consisted of horse, carriages, boats, elephants and palanquins. When Hiuen Tsang entered the Valley, he was received at the outer end of Pass by the maternal uncle of the king who had been sent with horse and carriages to escort the pilgrim to the capital.[104] A perusal of the Chronicle of Kalhaṇa leaves no room for doubt that the horse was an important conveyance and the poet-historian often refers to the march of mounted troops (*aśvavārā*). The elephant appears on the tiles of Harwan.[105] Kalhaṇa too refers to the stables of elephants.[106] It may be presumed that the elephant was used as an aristocratic conveyance. Camels were preferably employed for carrying on heavy loads.[107]

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[99] *Ibid.*, 75-123.

[100] *R.T.*, IV, 423.

[101] *Kuṭṭanimata Kavya*, 728.

[102] *Ibid.*, verse 68.

[103] *R.T.*, VII, 1606.

[104] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 262.

[105] R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p. 109.

While speaking of the conveyances which were in vogue in contemporary Kashmir, Alberuni remarks, 'The inhabitants of Kashmir are pedestrians, they have no riding animals nor elephants. The noble among them ride in palanquins called *kāṭṭ*, carried on the shoulders of men'.[108] That litters (*karṇiratha*) were used by the aristocrats receives confirmation from Kalhana's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[109] But the first part of the Muslim savant's statement that the inhabitants of Kashmir had no riding animals can hardly be accepted.

From earliest times, the river Vitastā formed the most important highway of Kashmir. The important towns of the valley were mostly situated on its banks and boat must have been needed to carry on internal trade and traffic. The *Rājataraṅgīṇi* frequently refers to them as means of travel in the valley.[110] The busy 'coming and going of ships' was also connected in the mind of Kalhaṇa with the splendour of a large town.[111]

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[106] *R.T.*, VII, 772.
[107] *R.T.*, VII, 659.
[108] *India* (tr. Sachau), I, p. 206.
[109] *R. T.*, IV, 407, V, 33, 219, VII, 463, 478, 713, VIII, 367, 2298, 2308, 2636, 2674, 3165.
[110] *R.T.*, V, 84, VII, 347, 714, 1628, VIII, 428.
[111] *R.T.*, I, 201-202.

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